

William Talbot. 1800

REMARKS

UPON

F. Le Courayer's BOOK

In Defence of the

English ORDINATIONS.

WHEREIN

All his Arguments are answered,
and the Invalidity of the *English* Ordinations
is Fairly considered and Fully proved.

By Clerophilus Aletbes

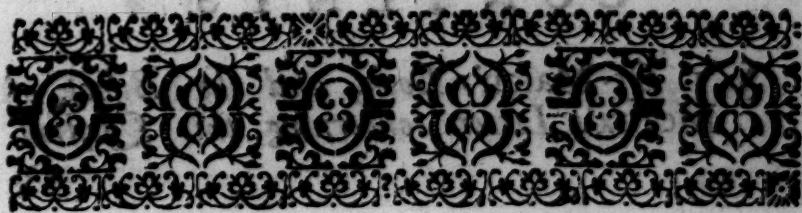
S. J.
*Cum legissem, ita miratus sum — ut nollem
credere illius hominis esse — Ego tamen cujus-
libet esset, refellendum putavi, ne quisquis ea
scripsit, aliquid sibi, apud imperitos, adversus Ca-
tholicam scripsisse videretur. S. Aug.*

Contra Lit. Petiliani. Initio.

Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet Sacerdotem.

S. Hieron.

*Cathedram Petri, quæ nostra est, per ipsam
et ceteras dotes, apud nos esse, probamus: Etiam
Sacerdotium. S. Optat.*



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ADVERTISEMENT.

SINCE *F. Le Courayer* has thought fit to warrant the *Fidelity of the Translation*, and assure us, That he owns it for very *Exact*, and That it *faithfully answers the Original*, I thought it needless to procure a *French Copy* of his Book, and have all along referr'd to the Translation of it, as more proper in Remarks made in *English*.

CHAP. I.



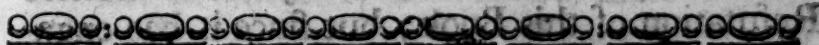
REMARKS

UPON

F. Le Courayer's BOOK,

IN DEFENCE of the

English ORDINATIONS.



CHAP. I.

The Occasion and Method of these Remarks.

1. **W**HEN *F. Le Courayer's* Book was put into my Hands, long after it had appear'd in *English*, I was desired to write some Remarks upon it as they occur'd Chapter by Chapter. I soon found that this Method of following him in his wrong Steps, would oblige me to speak of Matters in a different Order from what

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might

might be otherwise more proper. And the Reader must needs be sensible, that when one is engaged to follow the Steps of another, he cannot always keep the best Road. However, as this Method of following an Author, is commonly the most plain and direct Way of Refutation, it may perhaps make amends for other Inconveniencies, while I shall take Care not to be often drawn by his Proceedings into unnecessary Repetitions and Questions, which are little or nothing to the main Point; and yet, together with a very insignificant Length, and multiplying of *Records* (so called) make above two Thirds of *F. Le Courayer's* Book: But at the same Time, I will not, to the best of my Judgment, omit any of his Arguments of the least Moment, which seem properly tending to the Question of the *English* Ordinations.

2. Nor yet will I confine my self to a mere Refutation of this Book; but since it has engaged me in the Controversy of the *English* Orders, I will propose, as Occasion shall offer, a great many Positive, as well as Negative Proofs of their Invalidity; and take particular Notice of what *Bramhall*, *Williams*, or others seem to insist upon as material, beyond what *Le Courayer* has urged; but without those angry Resentments, which too often appear in the Management of this particular Controversy. Methinks, one may even hence conclude, the Validity of the *English* Orders is the less capable of being maintained by Reason, while it is so apt to be defended with Passion. Loud Outcries upon every little Touch, are great Signs that the Place is very sore. And certainly Mr.

Williams,

Williams, for Example, gives no favourable Idea of his Cause, while he says, the best Defenders of the Invalidity of the *English Orders*, have sacrificed all their Reasonable and Religious Faculties to the Interests of the Court of Rome; and then lodges the Generality of Catholics in the best House in *Moorfields*. Such Methods of Writing become not so important a Subject; and as Religion is vain without Charity, so it is extremely unfortunate (though common) to violate the one in Support of the other.

3. As therefore frequent Examples shew that the Warmth which a deep Prejudice, or a sincere Persuasion is apt to raise, if not carefully manag'd, will easily run out of Zeal, into Passion; so I shall endeavour to be particularly upon my Guard in this Respect; and desire the Reader to believe, that if I shall seem to carry any of my following Remarks beyond the strict Bounds of Charity, it will be more by Mistake, than by any ill Will to the greatest Adversaries. And yet where the Subject obliges me to call any Assertions bold or presumptuous, or to bring in a Charge of Error, Heresy and Forgery, I hope it will not be construed into a Want of Charity. Truth is never of it self opposite to Charity. And though Truth is not always to be divulged, yet where the Matter requires it, we ought to speak it with that Tenderness, which may shew a Concern at the Misfortune of those, we are obliged to censure.

4. In this Disposition, I shall rather avoid, than seek Occasions of charging *F. Le Courayer* (whom for Variety, I shall often call the *Librarian*) with those odious Consequences which he

seems sensible his Catholick Readers might be apt to draw from his Assertions. And as to the Charge of *Forgery*, which must in fine lie at the Door of Protestants, in regard of their pretended *Register*, or of Catholicks, in the Account of the *Nag's-Head* Consecration, I shall produce such Proofs as occur on both Sides, and then I presume it will not be uncharitable to fix the Aspersion where the strongest Authorities and Reasons shall cast it.

5. In producing Catholick Writers in Proof of the Facts relating to the present Question, I am sensible that several Protestants will be apt to say with *Bramhall* and *Williams*, that we insist too much upon the *Authority* and *Probity* of our own Party. To abate the Prejudice which some might be apt to take upon this Score, the following Particulars must be consider'd. 1. That since one great Design of these *Remarks* is to hinder Catholicks from being seduced by the Book of *Le Courayer*, it cannot be thought unreasonable to press against him the Authority of those whom Catholicks ought to respect. 2. That since in a Manner all are Parties in this Dispute, we have at least as much Right to alledge Catholicks, as our Adversaries to produce the Authority of Protestants. 3. That, since we must be forced upon the Comparison, and obliged to shew why Catholicks are more to be credited in the Accounts of this Debate, I beg leave to observe, That even supposing all other Things equal, there is this great Difference in the Case, that Catholicks lose, while Protestants gain'd a great deal by their Accounts. No Temporal Motives could make Catholicks persist in disowning

ing the *English* Ordinations: Nay, both Temporal and Eternal Motives must have inclined them to own their Validity. Temporal Motives, because it would have made them less obnoxious to the Governing Party. Eternal Motives, because as they believed Ordination to be a Sacrament, so they believed Groundless Re-Ordinations to be horrid Sacrileges. On the contrary, many of the *English* Clergy, particularly at the Beginnings of the Pretended Reformation, had most unquestionably very sad Notions of Ordination, and those who had more tolerable Notions of it, yet had Temporal Motives in Abundance, to sway their Judgments, or their Actions. Their Livings, their Wives, and the Favour of the Government, were a strong Bias upon them to maintain their Claim, whether it was rightly begun or not. Now may it not be said without a Breach of Charity, that where of two Parties, one must be charged with publishing false Accounts, those are most likely to have done it, who gain considerably, rather than those who lose by it? Especially since it is a less Crime in those who have either absolutely false, or very dubious Notions of the Necessity of Ordination, to pretend a *Register* of it, than for People who believe Re-Ordination is a heinous Sacrilege, to ground their Re-Ordinations upon forged *Stories*. But as I am unwilling to enlarge upon odious Comparisons, so I only desire that the Authorities on both Sides, when fairly produced, may be impartially weighed. And as to Fidelity in Citations, I take this Occasion to affirm with Sincerity, that as there are scarce any in the following Remarks, which I have

not taken the Pains to collect from, or compare with the Authors themselves, or to tell at least upon whose Credit I quote them, so I have not wilfully misrepresented any of them.

C H A P. II.

Some General Reflections upon the Question of the English Ordinations.

6. **M**OST certainly it is every One's Duty willingly to consider, and allow all the Weight he can, to whatever may contribute to make up the unhappy Separation of Protestants from the Catholick Church, rather than to widen it, particularly with Regard to the present Question of Orders. 1. Because the Accusation of Wanting true Orders, is extremely odious to our *English* Adversaries. 2. Because Catholicks look upon Groundless Re-Ordinations to be Sacrilegious. And, 3. Because the greater Grounds any one can bring for the *English* Orders, the greater will be the Hopes that many may be saved, who would otherwise be lost for Want of a valid Absolution from their Sins, and a true Participation of the Eucharist in many Occasions. Even Catholicks in Cases of Necessity might, and ought to desire the Absolution of *English* Ministers, if they thought it probable that they are true Priests. And yet, though they have sometimes, in Extremities, desired the Absolution of Apostates from the Catholick Church, yet it

is unheard of, that they ever desired it from one, who had no better than the *English* Orders. Which, as it shews a very settled Persuasion of the Invalidity of those Orders, so we do not find That Primitive Persuasion has in the least abated, by any Thing hitherto urged in Favour of their Orders, by *Bramhall*, *Williams*, or others. Nor is there any Appearance that *Le Courayer's* Book (which at the Bottom is only a Copy from those and other Protestant Writers) will alter the Notions of the Catholick World. And for my own Part, I can sincerely say, that the more I have consider'd this Matter, the more Reason I have ever found to judge those Orders invalid. Especially since I observed, in the Course of the following Remarks, how weakly the *Librarian*, after all his own Industry, and all his Helps from *England*, has supported their Cause.

7. And methinks it is very remarkable, that although on the one Hand, several might be saved, if the *English* Clergy were truly ordained, who we may otherwise fear will be lost, yet on the other Hand, it seems to have happen'd by a particular Stroke of Providence, that whereas many Ways might have been pretty easily found of procuring certain Orders, yet those Ways were not taken, but such only as have in fine, left a constant Doubt, not to say a contrary Certainty. The very Doubt of those Orders has been, and will, very likely, be to many, a Providential Occasion of their Returning to the Unity of the Catholick Church, wherein our Adversaries grant there is undoubted Ordination. How comfortable an Acknowledgment is this to Catholics, which secures to us

the *Reality* of those Sacraments, which are so great, so necessary Means of Salvation! How sad a Reflection on the other Side, must it be to every considerate *English* Protestant, that there are so great, so lasting Doubts of their Clergy wanting the *Essentials* to those Sacraments, without which there can be no True Church of *Christ*! Doubts, at least, here are on every Side. 1. Whether Dr. *Matthew Parker*, on whom their Pretensions to Orders depend, was ordained at *Lambeth* as they pretend. 2. Whether his Consecrator was ever truly ordained. 3. Of the Matter and Form used in his Ordination. 4. Of the Intention in the Ordainers, and the Persons ordained.

8. Nor do I know where all History can produce any single Instance of this mighty Consequence to a whole National Church, so very doubtful on every Side. For, since the Validity of the *English* Orders depends on all and every one of those four Points, it must be uncertain, if there be good Reasons to doubt of any one of them: But if there be good Reason to doubt of all, and every one of them, than it will not only be uncertain, whether their Ordinations are valid or no, but rather it will be morally certain they are invalid. And as it must needs be a charitable Office to make deluded People sensible of this fatal Uncertainty, so I cannot but apply to *Le Courayer's* Pretence of publishing his Book to facilitate the *Re-Union*, or Return of Protestants (for so he should have said, and not *our Re-Union*, or the *Return of Catholicks*, who never separated, or departed from, but remained firm in their Ancestors Faith) I cannot, I say, but apply these

Words

Words of S. Cyprian, *Disimulandi nunc locus non est, quando decipitur fraternitas nostra a quibusdam vestrum, qui dum, sine ratione, restituenda salutis plausibiles esse cupiunt, magis lapsi ob-sunt*, Lib. 3. Ep. 14. For, it leaves no Room to dissemble the Danger, when under a plausible Pretence of recovering them to the Church, it does, by unreasonable Concessions, rather confirm them in their Schism and Heresy. And since it cannot be denied, but that the Validity of the *English* Orders has been rejected by Catholics, laughed at and despised by most Dissenters at Home, and by the greatest Part of all Protestants Abroad, nothing can be a more charitable Office, than to expose the Weakness of those Proofs, which the *Librarian* has brought to sooth the *English* up in a false Notion, in so important a Matter. Especially since it must be granted, that where there are so many fatal Doubts of a true Clergy, it must be the Part of a well disposed Mind, to make them sensible of their Obligation, to seek for some other that is without question.

9. Nor will it be improper, before we come to the Particulars of this Question, to observe, that besides the strange Uncertainty at least, there is moreover a strange *Unaccountableness*, in the Claim which is so earnestly laid by the Church of *England*, to Orders from the Church of *Rome*.

10. First, That it confutes the greatest Calumny they have ever cast upon the Church of *Rome*, I mean, the charging her with *Idolatry*. For how can any Christian imagine, that the Church, from which the true Character of Priesthood is derived, was at that very Time,
when

when Orders were derived from it, a Sink of Idolatry, and the Church of *Antichrist*? Catholick Priests must, according to that Calumny, be Priests of *Belial*, not only on Account of their Errors, but in their very Priestly Character, as being *Idolatrous Sacrificers*, and ordained by a *Form expressly Idolatrous*, of offering *Mass* for the Living and the Dead. 2. By that Claim of true Ordination, they do, at the same Time, unchurch all the greatest Bodies of other Protestants. For as they pretend to look upon *Episcopacy* as an Ordinance of Christ, they must also allow it for a Maxim, that to deny *Episcopacy*, is inconsistent with the Nature and Institution of the true Church of Christ. Thus, as St. *Austin* says to *Fulgentius* the *Donatist*, we may say here, *Angulus Africanus orbem terrarum exclusit*; since *England*, which in this Respect, is but a Corner of the World (nay, the Episcopal Part of *England*, as distinct from the great Number of all other Dissenters, is but a Part of this very Corner) has excluded all the rest of the World from being the Church of Christ. Catholicks are excluded as *Idolatrous*, and most others as *Anti-Episcopal*; for how can either Idolatrous or Anti-Episcopal Churches, be the Church of Christ?

11. There is a farther Unaccountableness in this Pretension of the *English*, to a true Ordination. For after the strongest Proofs for the *Necessity* of Episcopal Ordination, after the most vehement Pleading for the *Divine Right* of *Episcopacy*, after having urged that Ministers ordained by Priests only, or by mere Laymen, are not ordained according to the Institution of Christ, when at Length, they are pressed with the

the contrary Practice and Doctrine of other Protestant Churches, what do they say? Why truly then, This which was urged as an Institution of Christ, is no longer necessary. Those other Churches are allowed to be true Churches, not only without Episcopal Orders, but even with denying them to be a Divine or Apostolical Ordinance; nay, even with maintaining them to be down-right *Popish* and *Anti-Christian* Pretensions. Is not this an evident Inconsistence? Is it not a clear Proof that whatever glorious Things they advance of Episcopacy, they do not think Ordination from Bishops is absolutely requisite? For, if it is requisite, there can be no true Ministry, nor consequently a true Church without it; can those be *Christ's* Ministers, who not only do not pretend any Commission from that Ordinance which Christ has prescribed, but do absolutely deny he has left any such Ordinance? If Christ has constituted Bishops, by whose Hands the Priestly Character is to be given, can that Character be given by those, who reject the Imposition of such Hands, and all their pretended Power? And yet is it not evident, that the Part of the pretended Reformation, which is called the Church of *England*, how much soever it pretends to believe a superior Power and Character in Bishops, yet when press'd to speak out, and declare their Sentiments of other Protestant Congregations, does at length own they have true Ministers of Christ's Church, without Episcopal Imposition of Hands? Must they not acknowledge that *Calvinists*, for Example, either have no true Priests, or that mere Laymen can ordain? For the Nineteenth
of

of the Nine and Thirty *Articles*, defines the true Church to be that, wherein the Sacraments are *duly minister'd*: They must consequently grant, either that the Sacraments can be *duly minister'd* by Ministers, who have not Episcopal Ordination, or that Foreign Churches, who have no such Orders, cannot be true Churches. Must they not then at length say with *Sutcliffe* against *Kellison* (pag. 5.) *That it is not material that the first Preachers of the Gospel in those Countries were not Bishops.*

12. What can be infer'd from hence, but that as the Inconsistencies are here very manifest, so they make it credible, that at the Bottom, the *English* think their own Orders cannot be maintain'd, without coming at Length to this Refuge, that mere Priests, or mere Laymens Ordination suffices? Could such Inconsistencies be found in Men, who either firmly believed a Power of Ordaining is essentially annexed to Episcopacy, or that their own Episcopacy had any better Foundation at the Bottom, than from Priests or Laymen? For methinks it is very lamentable to hear Mr. *Mason*, in his Dedication, and after him Dr. *Bennet*, and others, pretending to answer this Difficulty, by alledging the *Necessity* which Foreign Churches were under, at the Beginnings of the pretended Reformation. " Having some few Priests
 " among them (says Dr. *Bennet*, in his Discourse of Schism, Chap. 10.) they were forced to make others as well as they could. —
 " And be content with Pastors of their own making. — And since they could not have
 " a Succession of Clergy, otherwise than by that
 " Ordination, which they were constrain'd to
 " admit

“ admit in their first Necessity, therefore they
 “ were oblig’d to continue and supply the
 “ Number of *their Priests* as they had already begun.

13. Can such Answers as these deserve any Reply? For besides that its wretched to pretend a Necessity of entirely setting aside the positive Institution of *Christ*; Let me ask why afterwards they at last did not procure Episcopal Ordination? Did they ever endeavour it? Did they not always reject it? Do they not continue to maintain, that there is no such thing as *Priest* or *Bishop*, in the Sense which is pretended by the Church of *England*, so call’d?
 “ They could not (continues Dr. Bennet) proceed exactly according to that Rule which
 “ God had laid down, and which had ever
 “ been follow’d in all Ages of the Christian
 “ Church before their grievous Calamity
 “ came upon them, and forc’d them unwillingly to a Deviation from it. But allowing he may very well call it a *grievous Calamity* to abandon *the Rule which God had laid down*, yet it cannot be call’d an *unwilling Deviation*. When People unwillingly deviate from *Divine Rules*, they return again as soon as they can, whereas those Protestants deny it was a Deviation. They deny any such Divine Rule; they maintain they did well to oppose all the Bishops in the World, and to reject their Antichristian Episcopacy; and they continue in this Resolution. When People are unwillingly hinder’d from *Baptism*, for Example, it may well be call’d a *grievous Calamity*: But when they refuse it as unnecessary, as unscriptural, as a mere human
 and

and useless, or even as a criminal Device; Then to call their want of it a *Calamity*, is not only too soft a Word; but if such frivolous Excuses are us'd by People, who are themselves accus'd of not having been rightly baptized, it is a plain Indication of erroneous Notions, and of a Consciousness of their own Want of true Baptism. 'Tis the same here. The *English* are accused of wanting true Orders. Their Excuse of others, who reject all such Orders, is such as cannot reasonably be thought to proceed from any Thing but wrong Notions of Ordination in general, and a Consciousness of their own original Want of them, in particular. In a Word, either true Orders can be given without Bishops, or they cannot. If not, then other Protestants have no true Ministry, and consequently are no true Churches. If you say true Orders can be given without Episcopacy, you at once contradict all Antiquity, and plainly insinuate, that there is no sufficient Proof of your own Episcopacy. Steady Notions of Ordination would naturally have flowed from a sufficient Proof of your own in particular, as the Uncertainty of this has naturally produc'd wavering and inconsistent Notions of Orders in general.

14. Such Reflections as those I have hitherto made, must naturally incline every considerate Person to the Catholick Side of this Debate. But since both these will be farther confirm'd, and others occur to be made in the Course of the following *Remarks*, I will add here only, this one more; That the Doubts which have continu'd from the Beginning of
their

their Pretensions to Orders, have always, like other general Notions, influenc'd the common Language of the whole Nation. Their Clergymen are never call'd *Priests*, but when it is apparently done with Affectation and Design. They themselves often, nay generally, call themselves *Presbyters* or *Ministers*, or any such Name rather than *Priests*. And tho' the Words *Presbyter* or *Minister* may sometimes be us'd in a Catholick Sense for a Priest, yet a *Church of England Priest*, is an *Alienation* of Terms, and has an Oddness in the very Sound. For *Priest*, in the current Language, is a Catholick Priest. There is no manner of Need to add *Catholick*: Say but a *Priest* and you will be readily understood, but not be in the least suspected to mean a *Parson*. As no Endeavours have ever been able to make the Name *Catholick* be currently understood of any others, but of us of the ancient Church, so the Word *Priest* has ever been appropriated to ours. If a Protestant in any unknown Company calls himself a Catholick, it would be immediately suppos'd he is one of ours. And the same wou'd happen no less, if in the like Circumstances he call'd himself a Priest. And how can one help believing, but that if they were truly Priests, they would more currently have been allow'd the Title. Nor can any thing be more obvious, than to apply here a celebrated Argument of *St. Austin*, since in Effect it will need no other Turn, than barely to put the Word *Priest*, where he argues from the Word *Catholick*. Speaking of the Arguments, which held him in the Church, he reckons *ipsum Catholica*

Catholica nomen, &c. The very Name of Catholic (of Priest) which among such Numbers of Heresies, this Church has alone with good Grounds so fully possessed, that altho' all Hereticks would be call'd Catholics (and their Ministers be call'd Priests) Yet if any Stranger ask where Catholics assemble, (or where he may meet with a Priest) no Heretick dares direct him to their Church or House, (nor to any of their Parsons.) Thus St. Austin, *con. Ep. Fund. cap. 4.* and I hope it will not be thought sufficiently answer'd by calling it, as Mr. Earbery calls another solemn Sentence of the same great Saint and Doctor, *A foolish Saying of St. AUSTIN's.* But I hope too, that the excessive Warmth which, to use one of Mr. Earbery's Elegances, has *parboil'd* all that very sanguine Pamphlet, which he calls a *Modest Defence* of the *English Orders*, is now abated, and that he will no longer accuse St. Austin of Fooleries, (pag. 45.) nor Catholics of *thinking it meritorious to cheat People out of their eternal Happiness.* (pag. 54.) Otherwise he must still find that Catholics think such Pamphlets, may call for a charitable Pardon, but not for a particular Answer.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

Remarks upon the Translator's Preface.

15. **S**INCE it is the Translation of F. *Le Courayer's* Book, that I am engag'd to follow, I cannot omit some Remarks upon the Translator's Preface, so far, at least, as it leads to some Reflections which are of Moment to the main Question.

§. I.

Of the Translator's owning there are heavy Prejudices against the English Ordinations, and his unjust Contempt of his Adversaries.

16. The Translator, Mr. *Daniel Williams*, who calls himself *Presbyter* (conscious, I suppose, how odd it would sound to stile himself *Priest*, even in the Title Page of a Book in Defence of his pretended Orders) begins his Preface with owning, that the Church of *England* Ordinations are still that, upon which there are *heavy Prejudices, and perhaps more upon this very Head than any other*. As this is in it self very true, so it is a fatal Truth to the Translator, and to his favourite Author. For, every one must needs immediately reflect upon it, and with this Question; How is it possible there should be so great Prejudices against their Orders, if there had ever been any sufficient Proof of their Validity?

dity? The Validity of Ordination, in the whole Body of a National Church, ought to be very clear, and could not be even question'd, much less could it be positively denied from the very beginning, without very good Reasons. And the more the pretended Church of *England* values her self, and is distinguish'd from other Protestants, upon her Pretensions to Orders, the more evident should be the Proofs of them, the more unquestionable the Facts upon which they are maintain'd.

17. Mr. *Williams* adds; in this, *Facts* are to be follow'd, and not little low *Prejudices*. Very right. But still, How is it possible there should be more *heavy Prejudices* upon this Head, than perhaps upon any other, if the Facts in favour of it had been clear? It is impossible, that *little Prejudices* should either at first confront, or afterwards subsist against clear and publick Facts. If some weak People may be found unreasonable enough to stand out against publick Notoriety of Facts, this cannot be the Case of very great Numbers of Learned, Wise and Pious Men. If therefore there had ever been even such an Ordination, as is pretended since *Mason* produc'd an unheard of *Register*, that Fact had been too plain to leave any room for such *Prejudices* as we see, and the *Nag's-head* Account could never have been heard of, or at least never have been minded by Men, either of any Conscience or any common Sense. This, I presume, *Williams* was sensible of, and therefore thought himself engag'd by a necessary Consequence

quence to represent our Authors as void of both.

18. But however, That is here observable in him, which often happens to Men over heated in a Quarrel: They strike around; Friends and Enemies, if they stand too near, must share the Blows. Thus where he says (pag. 11.) *The English Reformation was so different from That carry'd on in France by the Hugonots*; one cannot but observe how unfortunately the *English Pretensions to Orders* embroil them with all the World and with themselves. For, this is a plain Hint, that other Protestants, who have *reform'd away all true Ordination*, cannot be justified in it; and on the other Hand, what can be more inconsistent, than to disagree in so material Points as *Ordination*, and yet pretend to be in Communion with them? How an *Episcopal Church*, can be one and the same Church with an *Anti-Episcopal One*, is not conceivable. *Bramhall* is more determinate in his Censure upon other pretended Reformers, in the beginning of his Book of *Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops*, and lets you know they were framed according to the *brainsick Dictates of some seditious Orator, or the giddy Humours of a tumultuous Multitude*. Sad Cause, which cannot be defended without falling foul upon Friends as well as Enemies!

19. One might have expected, that in a Preface to a favourite *French Author*, who is surprizingly bold in this sinking Cause, Mr. *Williams* would have been at least more complaisant to that Nation, than to add, they

have been hitherto led away by the Reports of weak and injudicious People. But, I suppose, he did not reflect how strange a Compliment he makes them, by declaring they have hitherto been so ill provided with Sense and Judgment, as to be led away by *weak and injudicious* People: And whither? Into nothing less, than sacrilegious Re-ordinations. And by what? By groundless Reports. Strange, that *Le Courayer* alone should have Sense enough to recover from so universal a Weakness of Judgment!

20. Perhaps Mr. *Williams* thinks he makes some Amends, by saying, " I am very sensible That we have among our selves, some, even of the Clergy, that are sufficiently sway'd by Prejudice and Passion: We have our implicit Believers of Pope *Joan*, as well as they have their Advocates for the *Nag's Head* Story. But as nothing can excuse the Rashness of calling all those weak and injudicious, who have so constantly denied the Validity of the *English* Orders, so there is not the least Appearance of a just Comparison between the Fable of Pope *Joan*, never generally believ'd, but by the illiterate Part of Protestants, and the *Nag's-head* Story so universally believ'd by the most learned Catholics. And methinks, unless he himself had been sufficiently sway'd by Prejudice and Passion, he would never have made the Comparison, or at least would never have said (pag. iv.) " The whole Credit of this Controversy has depended upon the Reputation of a few, weak, angry Writers, who in Opposition to the evident Designs of Nature, as well as

" Educa-

“ Education, have intruded themselves upon
 “ the World, as great and reputable Authors.
 Possible he thought this a Rhetorical Period;
 but in these politer Days of Controversy, we
 may safely leave the World to judge from
 what Quarter of the Town such Eloquence
 is expected. And besides, he immediately an-
 swers it, by adding, *it is a mean Art to despise
 an Adversary, and it is very often a great
 Weakness.* But in the next Page he relapses
 again, and says, *the Adversaries of our Ordina-*
tions, for the most part, have not treated this
Subject either like Scholars, Divines, or Gentle-
men. And where to rank one, that can speak
 thus of the learned *Harding, Stapleton, Fitz-*
herbert, Champney, &c. I know not. It was
 indeed the Misfortune of the earlier Times
 of our Controversies, to be exceeding warm
 in their Writings. But sure I am, ours can-
 not be thought the most faulty in that Kind.
 However I will not stand to prove it by rak-
 ing up the Dirt from *Jewel, Mason, or Bram-*
hall, nor gather the ungenteel Strains of *Wil-*
liams and Earbery, the less excusable, because
 in these politer Times; willing such wrong
 Methods should be mutually forgot, let us
 examine the Merits of the Cause, and excuse
 the Excesses. What follows in this Preface
 deserves better to be consider'd, than any Rude-
 ness of Language.

§. 2.

Whether Queen Elizabeth's Bishops were Intruders, or Catholicks let their Succession fall?

21. It is but very softly that *Le Courayer* speaks of Queen *Elizabeth's* Bishops as *Intruders*. Yet Mr. *Williams* cannot forbear complaining of his *Champion* upon this Account. And tho' *Intrusion* may be consistent with *Validity*, yet the Particulars he will here give us Occasion to speak of, in short at least, will not only be of Use to some of the following Remarks, but will naturally incline one to suspect the *Validity* of these new pretended Bishops. For, the very Nature of the *Intrusion*, and the Persons intruded, will be great Motives to believe, that the temporal Title of Bishops was more regarded than the spiritual Character.

22. By what Mr. *Williams* says upon this Point of *Intrusion* of Queen *Elizabeth's* Bishops, it will appear how ill it becomes him to call such learned Men, as deny the *English* Ordinations, weak and injudicious. "Before this, says he, in King *Edward's* Reign, the Majority of our Bishops came into a National Reformation, being headed by their Metropolitan, and consequently were not, at that time, upon the Foot of Intruders. Now, this is both false in Fact, and if it be suppos'd true, yet is nothing to the Purpose. It is not to the Purpose, because if by *our Bishops* he means the whole Body of Bishops in King *Edward's* Reign, besides the new ones

ones of his making, no Body ever disputed their being true Bishops in general, notwithstanding some Irregularities. If he means those made, or suppos'd to be made by the new Ordinal, they were only six; *Poynet, Hooper, Scory, Coverdale, Taylor, and Harley.* How justly these are call'd Intruders will appear hereafter. In the mean while, where is the Appearance of Logick or Divinity in this Argument; the *Bishops came into the Reformation, therefore they were not Intruders?* And moreover, if it were true, that the Majority of Bishops came into the Reformation, it would no more justify it, than the Greek Schism can be justified, because in the Synod *An. 879.* no less than 383 Bishops with *Photius* at their Head, came into his Notions, and according to the Translator's Stile, did with their Metropolitan at their Head, reform away the Procession of the Holy Ghost, from the *Son.* As to the Bragging That the Metropolitan *Cranmer* was at the Head of the Reformation, he should have said, more conformably to the Oath he has taken, That the King was at the Head of it, nay the *supreme Head* of it, and *exclusively* of any other Head. Nor indeed can one imagine why any pretended Episcopal Clergymen should be so fond of having for their Head so rank a Presbyterian in Point of Ordination, as *Cranmer* is known to have been.

23. Now if any one Doubts how wide it is from Truth, that the Majority of the Bishops came into the pretended Reformation of King *Edward*, I wish he would read the excellent Author of *Church-Government*, Part the Fifth.

There he will find, that notwithstanding several unpardonable Compliances, they were so far from coming into it, that they were extremely averse to it in the Main. A few Extracts from him, will clear this Matter, and be of Use to other Points of these Papers: Thus for Example, §. 104. he will see, That the Bishops of *Chichester, Norwich, Lincoln, and London*, and others more (by Fox's Acknowledgment, p. 1183.) opposed the Duke of *Somerset's* Inclinations, and Endeavours in this Respect, the first Year of King *Edward's* Reign, in a Consultation had at *Windfor*. §. 107. The same Fox saying (p. 1180.) a new Face of Things began to appear, *As it were on a Stage, new Players coming in, the old being thrust out; for the most Part of Bishops, of Churches, and Dioceses, were chang'd.* What need of this, says my Author, if the old consented to the King's Mandates? Mr. Fox proceeds, "Of the
 " old Bishops, some were committed to one
 " Ward, some to another. *Bonner*, Bishop of
 " *London*, was committed to the *Marshalsea*,
 " *Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, with *Tonstal*,
 " Bishop of *Duresme*, was cast into the Tow-
 " er." [To whom, says my Author, may be added out of Fox elsewhere (p. 1280.) *Day* removed from *Chichester*, *Heath* from *Worcester*, *Vesey* from *Exeter*; likewise *Pate* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Goldwel* Bishop of *St. Asaph*. — Bishop Elect of *Bangor*, are said to have been banished: And some more might be removed in like Manner, who happen not to be mention'd, because deceased before the Reign of Queen *Mary*; as *Wakeman* Bishop of *Gloucester*, *Holbeck* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Skyp* Bishop of *Hereford*,
Rug

Rug Bishop of Norwich, as may be probably conjectured from Mr. Fox, his Expressions, but now rehearsed.] To whom let me add, from Dr. Harding, in his *Detection*, fol. 242. That Bishop Shaxton, though sometime a *Lutheran*, repented him earnestly. — It is well known in all the Realm, that he died a *Catholick*, and could by no Means be brought to revolt to you again, in all King Edward's Time. And fol. 243. Touching Bishop Capon, he was never in all his Life wholly of your Belief. — But for Fear conformed. — And because he was known not to have been of your Side in Heart, he was suffered to keep his State and Bishoprick, in Queen Mary's Time.

24. Farther Instances of the Opposition of the Bishops, you have in the Author of *Church-Government*, §. 120. in these Words from Godwin, p. 223. A. D. 1548. who after having commended Day, and Tonsal, for very Learned Prelates, says, " The Drift of the Punishments of such Men, when in Henry's Time they were accounted the Chief Lights of our Church, he conceives to have been, That the rest of that Order, might, by their Example, be admonished, without Dissimulation, either to resign their Bishopricks — or to conform. " Thus he: And this sure is a Proof, both of Opposition, and that, if some conformed, it was not by coming into the Court Measures, but by being awed into them. And §. 122. we find the King, and his Council, in their Letter to the Bishop of London (Fox p. 1186.) complaining, " That the Fault (of Non-Compliance) we must (say they to the Bishop) we must, in Reason impute to you, and others of

of your Vocation. And Fox, in the same Place, complains heavily, That the Book of Common-Prayer was contemned in many Places of the Realm, by the *drawing back on the other Side of divers, but especially of Bishops.* And §. 123. Ridley complains too (*apud Fox p. 1616.*) “ It may be truly said of the most Part of the Clergy, Parsons, Prebendaries, Arch-Deacons, Deans, yea, and I may say, of Bishops also. — They were never persuaded in their Hearts, but from heir Teeth forward, and for the King’s Sake. — Whereupon my Author very justly observes, That some outward Compliance, at the First, of those Bishops, who made an open Opposition afterwards, avails nothing the Protestant Cause, since the latter Judgment, in such Matters, is to be taken, especially where it is no Way corrupted by, but proceedeth against Temporal Benefits. And then §. 124. observing, That Fuller names Bonner, Gardiner, and Tonstal, for zealous Papists, and might have named as such, Voicy, Heath, Day; he takes Notice, That the same Fuller names as Papists in their Hearts, Sampson Bishop of Coventry, Capon Bishop of Salisbury, Thirlby Bishop of Norwich, Buckley Bishop of Bangor; and that besides them, Parfew Bishop of Asaph, Kitchin Bishop of Landaff, Aldrich Bishop of Carlisle, Goodrich Bishop of Ely, Chambers Bishop of Peterborough, King Bishop of Oxford, who all returned to the Profession of the old Religion in Queen Mary’s Time: Some (having but coldly comply’d, and with such Reluctancy, as laid them open to the Spoil, though not the Loss of their Bishopricks, says Heylin p. 100.) And Fuller, speaking

speaking of the Opposition made in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, by those who had comply'd in King Edward's, gives This as the only Reason of it, *That growing Old, and near their Graves, they grew more Conscientious.* To which my Author very justly adds, *That their long Experience of the Arbitrary, and Floating State of Religion, under a secular Supremacy, excited them in their old Age, to an open maintaining of their Catholick Principles.* And §. 125. he makes this important Reflection (which he had more particularly made §. 51.) That as to the Inferior Clergy, though many of them were changed in King Edward's Days, " Yet so many remained still of the Old Religion, either in Heart, or also in Profession, that a Synod being called, within five, or six Days after Queen Mary's Coronation, before any new Moulding of this Ecclesiastical Body, all of them, except six, voted against King Edward's Reformation. " Thus the Author of *Church-Government*: Out of whom I will only add, that §. 167. Fuller is quoted, alledging for a Reason, why the King would not trust the Convocation of 1552. to meddle in Church-Business, and Matters of Religion, because *he had a just Jealousy of the Ill-Affection of the major Part of them, to his pretended Reformation.* And these Particulars, to omit several others, are more than sufficient, to shew, That the Majority of the Bishops did not come into King Edward's Changes of Religion.

25. We shall now see, that Mr. Williams is no less mistaken, in pretending, That Queen Mary's Bishops were with more justice to be reputed Intruders (p. 7.) than those whom Queen

Elizabeth

Elizabeth put in their Places. Whereupon this Question immediately occurs, and might alone decide this Point; What Authority had King *Edward*, or Queen *Elizabeth*, either in Secular, or Ecclesiastical Affairs, which was not equally in Queen *Mary*? Consequently if they could lawfully reform away the Old Religion, surely she might full as Legally reform it back again. In Effect, Queen *Mary* only re-establish'd the Ancient Government of the Church, and that Religion, which for many Centuries, had been the Religion of the Nation, and the World. How can the *Translator* pretend, That Queen *Mary* Bishops were *Arbitrarily, and in Defiance, both of our Ecclesiastical, and Civil Laws*, put into the Place of the Protestant Bishops? What strange Language is this, to talk of *all our Laws*, as if the contrary Laws had not lasted more Centuries, than King *Edward* had reigned Years? Did not Queen *Mary* act by those Ancienter Laws, which she had *only re-establish'd*, and had repeal'd the *new Ones*? Were not those Ancient Ones enacted by the Consent, and the new Ones in Opposition to the Body of the Clergy?

26. But since his Assertion is so wild in General, let us see what it is in Particular; Who were the Bishops she cast out, and for what? Mr. *Collier*, in a few Pages, gives this Account of them, in his Ecclesiastical History, *Tom. 2. Cranmer* was condemn'd for Treason; own'd it, and submitted to her Mercy, p. 354. The Bishop of *Chester*, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and *Barlow*, deprived for Marrying after their Monastical Vows. *Taylor* of *Lincoln*, *Hooper* of *Worcester*, *Harley* of *Hereford*, for their Misbehaviour,

behaviour, having taken their Sees from King Edward the Sixth, with this exprefs Clause, *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and, *ad placitum*, p. 365. And Mr. Collier, having very fairly observed, That upon the Repeal of the Statutes lately enacted, the *Canon-Law* recover'd its Force upon the Married Clergy; He adds, *Scory* comply'd, and submitted to his Deprivation; as did also *Barlow*, *ibid.* He observes too, That *Ridley* (besides his being a Traytor) was set aside by reversing the Sentence of *Bonner's* Deprivation, and gives a broad Hint that *Poinet* withdrew no less for his treasonable Temper, than upon other Accounts. Thus we see they were legally deprived, and most of them for Crimes partly owned by themselves, partly proved according to Statutes now settled again upon their ancient Footing. On the Contrary the Catholicks in Q. Elizabeth's days were deprived only upon account of the ancient Religion. With what Face then can the *Translator* make the Comparifon? Especially if you add these farther Reflections from *Chur. Gov.* Part V. §. 189. " That of the fifteen Catho-
 " lick Bishops there were only four that came
 " into the Place of Protestant Bishops living.
 " viz. *Heath*, *Bourne*, *Christopherson* and *Tur-*
 " *berville*, into the place of *Holgate*, *Barlow*,
 " *Scory* and *Coverdale*: For, all the rest suc-
 " ceeded either Catholick Bishops, or Pro-
 " testant Bishops deceased; and those four
 " Protestant Bishops were all married, and so
 " excluded by the Canons; and three of them
 " married Monks, *Holgate*, *Barlow*, *Coverdale*.
 " But of the fifteen Catholick Bishops there
 " were only two that came into the place of
 " any

“ any Protestant Bishops when living ; which
 “ Protestant Bishop had not first enter’d in-
 “ to the place of a Catholick Bishop when
 “ living. For *Scory* and *Coverdale*, came into
 “ *Day’s* and *Voicy’s* Bishopricks in *K. Edward’s*
 “ Days whilst they living. The Truth of these
 “ things you may see in *Godwin’s Catalogue*,
 and others. What then can the *Translator* mean
 by saying the *Marian* Bishops were illegally
 and *Schismatically Consecrated*? Was not *Q.*
Mary as much Head, as *Queen Elizabeth*? Is
 it Schismatical to submit to the Head? Is
 it illegal to act by *Laws* and *Canons* revived?
 How can he say the *Metropolitan* was un-
 condemn’d? Was he not condemn’d and Just-
 ly, even by his own Acknowledgment? In a
 Word, when the *Translator* has the confidence
 to say the *Schismaticalness* of *Q. Mary’s* Pro-
 ceedings against the Protestant Bishops will
 appear evident to any one that examines in-
 to the *History of those Times*, sure he fondly
 supposed no one would take the Pains to call
 Him to account for so wild an Assertion.

27. Does he mend the matter in what fol-
 lows? “ Supposing it granted (says he pag.
 “ 7.) that our first Bishops did not so le-
 “ gally get into Possession — And that *Q.*
 “ *Mary’s* were unjustly deposed; yet since
 “ they took no care to keep up their Succes-
 “ sion, but suffered it to drop, the Bishops,
 “ put in by *Q. Elizabeth*, became afterwards,
 “ upon the Death of the others, to be le-
 “ gally possess’d of their Bishopricks, because
 “ there were none that either did or could
 “ put in a Claim of Right in Opposition [to
 “ theirs. — Is not this a very extraordi-
 nary

nary piece of *Logick* and *Canon-Law*? It was made at first a *Pramunire*, at least, and afterwards Treason, to pretend any Orders from the Church of *Rome*, and here the avoiding the Danger of that treasonable Claim, is by a new reformed *Logick* call'd a taking no care to keep it up, but Suffering it to drop; and then by a new reform'd *Canon-Law*, illegal Bishops are said to become legal by the Death of those, who were unjustly deposed, without any *Patriarchal* Power to dispense with, or remove the Illegality of their former Intrusion. But what follows, is rather worse. " On the contrary, says he " page 8. those of our Country, who adhered " to a foreign Communion, upon their Suffer- " ing their Succession of Bishops to fall, ceased " to be upon the Foot even of a national " Church. For a national Church without " Bishops, is, I think, something new, even " in the Opinion of learned Men in Commu- " nion with the Church of *Rome*. This, I say, is rather still worse. First, because Catholics adhering to the old Communion, now become partly foreign by the Misfortune of the Times, yet still were under the Episcopal Government of their Patriarch, and Supreme Bishops, under whom the Nation had long flourished. Thus tho' they did not drop their Succession or let it fall, but were hinder'd from it by the Severity of the Laws, yet they were not without a Bishop. Secondly, because the *Translator* here again unchurches those Protestants, that is, almost all Protestants, who not only have no Bishops, but even condemn the

the Institution and call it Antichristian. This in Short, on the *Translator's* Preface.

C H A P. IV.

Upon F. Le Courayer's Preface and first Chapter.

28. **L**EAVING to the Searcher of Hearts what the *Librarian* professes of his good Intentions in writing his Book in Defence of the *English* Ordinations, and taking no Notice of his Compliments to his *Translator*, since these at least, may be taken for things of Course; one cannot however omit observing, that in his Letter to Him, he is not content to compare the *Nag's-head* Account to the impertinent Fable of Pope *Joan*, "but adds, Some of our Schoolmen, and the "greatest part of our Divines, or Catholick "Priests of the Country, are no less attach'd "to the one, than the Rabble among the Protestants were to the " other. Certainly, thus comparing the *Rabble* of Protestants to Catholick Divines, will be thought by all moderate Protestants a Forfeiture of that Title to *Candor* and *Judgment*, with which he was complimented by his *Translator*. And if only the *Rabble* of Protestants were attach'd to the Fable of Pope *Joan*, why did he say just before, that *Blondel* refuted it in Spite of the *Clamors of the Ministry*? Could he not distinguish between *Ministers* and *Rabble*? And since

since *the greatest Part of our Divines and Priests* (Men whom every Catholick must own to have been generally Learned and Pious, and of whom many suffer'd so much, even to Martyrdom for Religion) believed the *Nags-head* Consecration, there can be no Candor or Judgment to compare this Account with the Fable of *Joan*, or at best, we must excuse him for want of Reflection.

§. 1

Of Mason's Book, and the Bishop of Meaux's Letter concerning this Question.

29. *Le Courayer* immediately in his Preface tells the Reader, That *Mason* is the *first* he finds to have defended the Validity of the *English* Ordinations *with Success*, and commends him, as having done it *with great Variety and Judgment.* pag. 1. Variety, I grant, there is abundance, in several things extremely foreign to the main Subject, which makes the least part of his Work. And this at least is no proof of his Judgment. I have only seen the first Edition of Him printed by *Robert Barker.* London 1613. But very learned Men, particularly with Regard to the *Latin* Editions which are much larger, think Him the most flat Dialogist, the fullest of the most pitiful Fables and meanest Injuries, and the most tedious Controvertist one can possible read. But leaving this to the Reader, let us ask any impartial Man this obvious Question: Since *Mason's* Defence came above *fifty* Years after the Validity of those Orders had been question'd, or to speak more properly, af-

ter it had been constantly denied, how can one avoid thinking there must have been something very particular, that made Protestants so long *Unsuccessful* in their Defence? Consequently one cannot but judge, That the pretended *Register*, first produced by *Mason*, was unknown to *Jewel*, *Horn*, and all others so much concern'd in the Question. Is it Imaginable no one should have ever urged it as a Proof for so long a Time, or that it should be so long unknown both to Friends and Enemies; or if known, not produced? As soon as *Mason* had mention'd it, it began to be loudly proclaimed by Protestants, and as loudly question'd by Catholicks. No stronger Instance can be given, in a Case of this Nature, That no such Register was ever known before, and consequently that it was not in Being, till forged about that time by *Mason*, or some such Journey-men; or at least, That if it was known or made before, That it was not to appear till after a convenient number of Years, for the like Reasons as *Burnet's* Stories of his Times were not to be publish'd till after his Death. But as I shall have farther occasion to enlarge upon these Reflections, let us proceed with his Preface.

30. Pag. 5. *As our Authors*, says he, *have hitherto been inclining to the other side of the Question, the World will doubtless be surpriz'd, that I should abandon them.* He should not have said *inclining* only. For they have been positive and unanimous. They are so to such a Degree, That sure there is not a truer word in his Book, than this of his surprizing the World. The World is perfectly astonish'd at him

him. 'Till he owned himself the Author it seem'd incredible. Now he has owned it, I cannot but still say with St. *Austin*, *utrum ipse dictaveris, an aliunde quesieris, non satis admirror.* Contra *Fulg.* *Donat. initio.* I cannot sufficiently wonder whether he dictated it himself, or sought it from elsewhere. Especially since he owns, he abandons Catholick Divines in *Defence of the Church of ENGLAND.* This Expression is unfortunately too accurate. For he does not say only the *Orders*, but the *Church of ENGLAND*; and in Effect he appears to defend not only that One, but other Points in which the *English* have abandon'd the Church. However, passing over those other Points with the most favourable Interpretation they can possibly bear, what does he mean by presently telling us, That as to the present Question, his Opinion is *not so new and so Surprizing*, and That he can produce the most unexceptionable Authority to allay the Scruples of some Divines. Just now the World would doubtless be surprized: Here it is not so surprizing. There it was, our Authors generally; here it is some Divines. Is Truth and Sincerity subject to such sudden Varyings? And what is this unexceptionable Authority? Why truly nothing but a Bit of a Letter of the Bishop of *Meaux* to *Mabillon.* As if one man's Opinion, and that deliver'd in a Familiar Letter, tho' such Letters are often penn'd with more Suddenness than Accuracy, were sufficient Authority against the publick and constant Opinion and Practice of all the most learned Catholicks, who had carefully discussed the Controversy. And after all, what

does this Letter say? The Words are: " As
 " to the Succession (of Bishops) at the Begin-
 " ning of the Schism, the *English* advance
 " that there is not the least Difficulty; and
 " herein they seem to be in the Right. " But
 either by *the Beginning of the Schism* he only
 means in *Henry* the 8th's Days, or certainly,
 one cannot take these Words more favoura-
 bly, than to suppose they came from that
 learned Bishop, in that Suddenness, which, as
 I have said, is so common in Familiar Letters.
 Otherwise it is not excusable, in a Man of
 any Learning, to say there is no Difficulty
 in this Point, wherein, Men by no means
 inferior to that Bishop in Learning, have found
 so great a Difficulty, as even to re-ordain all,
 who returned to the Church, from the *En-
 glish*, to the Catholick Clergy. Even that Bi-
 shop, as cited in the *Librarian's* Records (pag.
 320) does not speak as having sufficiently ex-
 amined the Question, and fix'd his Opinion.
 For he adds: " It depends upon Fact; and
 " the Holy See will not fail to act in this
 " Matter according to it's usual Circumspecti-
 " on, " As therefore he had said before, *it
 seems* only, which is a doubtfull Expression,
 so here he plainly insinuates, That the Facts are
 to be farther examined, before it can be ex-
 pected the Church will alter her Opinion of
 the *English* Orders, and allow them to be va-
 lid. And is it not plain too, that according
 to that Circumspection of the Holy See, which
 his Letter supposes to be great and usual, it
 would never have so long denied the Vali-
 dity of those Orders without good Grounds?
 The *Librarian* therefore, does not only, with
 an

an unpardonable Rashness, condemn our Divines, but in Reality accuses the Holy See of Rashness, and Want of that Circumspection, which is usual to it, when he says pag. 5. "The Major Part of our Divines unworthily condemn'd the Validity of the *English* Ordinations, because *they never seriously examined* the State of the Question, but were rather byass'd by Prejudice and Numbers, than by any true Knowledge of the Affair". Here again, instead of *some Divines*, he grants us the *Major Part*. Nor yet is it enough to say the *Major Part*. For the Consent of Catholick Divines is so *universal*, That the like can scarce be shewn in any other Point depending so much upon *Facts*. And being so very Universal, it cannot consequently be thought Unwarily given into. Especially, considering the Importance of the Matter; and that, as *Le Courayer* observes, very truly, within a few Lines after, *Reordinations have always carried along with them something odious in the Face of the Church*. One cannot therefore imagine they should have been constantly and universally practis'd above a Hundred and seventy Years upon *unwary Prejudices*, without ever seriously *examining* the State of the Question. And a Catholick, rash enough to cast such an Aspersion upon us, might well expect to be charged with *Odious Consequences*.

§. 2.

The Changes of the English Administration of Orders, and of Ordaining Ministers from Scotland. Anno 1610.

31. The Librarian begins his first Chapter
D 3 . . . with

with an Historical Account of the Changes, which have happen'd in the Ordinations of the *English*, since the pretended Reformation. Where by the bye, it is observable, That he never calls it *Pretended*. Perhaps he avoided that Word as offensive to the *English*. But sure the Compliment is too great when Truth is so constantly suppress'd. The Word is no otherwise offensive, than as it signifies a groundless and unjustifiable Separation from the Church; and therefore the constant Omission of it, is a very insignificant Compliment, after he has owned they are guilty of Heresy and Schism; and has said in the Beginning of this first Chapter pag. 17. That the *English Schism* had *so Inauspicious a Beginning* from the Divorce of Henry the 8th, and ended in the Repeal of the ancient Laws, and of all Subordination to a lawful Authority. Which words are more particularly to be observed; because where *ancient Laws* and *all Subordination* to a lawful Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs, of which the Discourse is, has been abandon'd, it cannot be wonder'd to find, That the essential Laws of Ordinations should soon come to be utterly neglected. And this Remark leads one to observe, that the *Librarian's History* of the Changes of the *English*, in the Administration of Orders, appears to be studiously defective. For he must have been sensible, That an account of such changes could not be very significant, unless the Reader were acquainted with the Principles and Intentions of those, who made such Changes. But these could not have been fairly stated, without giving the Reader a very great Presumption against the

the Validity of Ordinations made upon such wrong Principles, and which so nearly affect the Essentials of Ordination. Accordingly, *Le Courayer* passes over those Principles in Silence, which shall be declared in the Course of these Remarks, as well as an Account of the *English* Changes in this Matter. At Present, I will only observe upon this Chapter, what he says of the ordaining those *Scotch* Ministers sent for by K. *James I.* anno 1610. Not with Regard to *Scotland*, for there our Adversaries grant Episcopal Succession to have been broken, but to shew what was thought, even in *England*, concerning Ordination.

32. He tells us pag. 22. That when King *James the First*, anno 1610. got three Ministers from *Scotland* " to be ordain'd by the Bishops
 " of *London, Ely, Rochester* and *Worcester*,
 " the Bishop of *Ely* insisted to have these
 " Ministers ordain'd *Priests*, before they were
 " consecrated, they not having received the
 " Order of *Priesthood* from any *Bishop*. But
 " *Bancroft* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* main-
 " tain'd that the Ordination given by *Priests*
 " ought to be esteemed Valid, tho' it was
 " not administred by *Bishops*; for otherwise
 " the greatest part of the reform'd Churches
 " would be found to want Ministers; and
 " that the Episcopal Powers did otherwise sup-
 " ply the other Orders; for which he brought
 " Examples out of Antiquity. All acquiesced
 " in his Opinion, and contented Themselves
 " in Consecrating the new Bishops without
 " conferring the inferior Orders upon them "

The *Librarian* cites for these Particulars, *Spotswood*, *Colderwood*, *Heylin* and *Collier*. Nor indeed could so strange a Passage be credited without good Authority. And methinks, one cannot but look upon it as very providential, that it is so well attested. For, from hence it appears how loose Notions *Bancroft* and the other Bishops had of Ordination, in allowing it to be good, tho' given only by Priests, nay even by mere *Presbyterian Elders*, who are too well known to have looked upon Imposition of Hands as unnecessary, not to say Antichristian. We may then safely appeal to any unprejudiced Person, whether such strange Opinions concerning Ordination, do not very naturally incline, or rather force one to believe they proceeded from a Persuasion in *Bancroft* and those other pretended *English* Bishops, that their own Orders could not be justify'd or accounted valid, unless Priests could ordain? And this appears more particularly from that Reason which *Bancroft* gives, *viz.* That otherwise the *greatest* Part of the Reformed Churches would be found to want Ministers. For it is certain, the *greatest* Part of them had not received Orders, even from Priests. And yet we see *Bancroft* thought them sufficiently Ordain'd. Nor was this indeed the Opinion only of *Bancroft*, and those other four associates of his, but (as *Burnet* pag. 258 cited by *Ward* in his *Controversy of Ordination* pag. 65 says) *we are very sure*, That not only those, who penn'd the Articles, but *the Body of this Church*, for above half an Age after, did acknowledge the foreign Churches, *so constituted* (without

(without Bishops) to be true Churches as to all the Essentials of a Church.

33. But, because *Burnet's Historical Faith*, is not to be heeded, unless supported by more credible Vouchers, I will here confirm this Point with the Authority of the learned University of Oxford. In the *Annals* of Queen Anne, An. 5. Appendix. pag. 196. There is a Letter of that University to the Pastors of Geneva. These following Lines of it are particularly remarkable. " Alienissimum est a
" nostrâ Charitate Ecclesias illas reformatas,
" quæ ineluctabili necessitatis lege adactæ, a
" primævâ Episcopalis regiminis forma *haud*
" sponte suâ recesserunt tanquam legitimis Pa-
" storibus aut Sacramentis rite administratis pe-
" nitus destitutas, rigidâ nimis censura dam-
" nare: A judicio hoc de vestrâ Ecclesia fe-
" rendo longe semper abfuerunt e Theologis
" nostris celeberrimi, qui peregre commoran-
" tes sacris vestris libenter interfuerunt. Sed
" longe dispar est nostrorum Schismaticorum
" a vestrâ causa, multum diversa nostra de
" iis sententiâ; qui cum nullâ necessitate
" compulsi *legitimæ* Episcoporum Authoritati
" se subtrahunt, Geneva exemplum *perduelli-*
" *oni suæ* obtendunt, vestro patrocínio adeo
" minime suffulti, ut Calvinus vester illos
" qui talem Hierarchiam (quali nos fruimur)
" non revereantur, summaque obedientia ob-
" servant, nullo non anathemate dignos censeat.
" Id sane optandum erat, ut antiqua illa
" Ecclesiæ per Episcopos gubernandæ ratio
" quam Apostoli a Christo ipso fidei nostræ,
" autore edocti, et pleniori Spiritus Sancti
" mensura

“ mensura perfusi instituerunt, per univer-
 “ sum orbem Christianum etiamnum vigeret.
 “ Hanc nos *Disciplinam*, autoritate *plusquam*
 “ *humana* fundatam, ac divina providentia,
 “ per omnia quæ ab Apostolorum usq; tem-
 “ poribus fluxerunt sæcula, ad nos transmis-
 “ sam, non sine singulari Dei beneficentia re-
 “ tinemus. Quam quidem beneficentiam
 “ *Beza* vester nobis optavit perpetuam. Nos
 “ vicissim vobis ac reformatis omnibus Ec-
 “ clesiis communem fore ardentissimis votis
 “ efflagitamus — Data *Oxonij* prid. Id.
 “ Feb. An. D. 1706. in frequenti Convoca-
 “ tione *omnium* Doctorum ac Magistrorum,
 “ tam Regentium quam non Regentium.
 “ Ita testor *Geo. Cooper* Notarius Publicus,
 “ ac Registr. Univ. *Oxon.*”

34. The greater Regard one ought to have
 for this celebrated University, upon Account
 of its Learning, the more one is forc'd to
 grieve at observing to what Inconsistencies
 learned Men are carried, when they abandon
 the Church. But omitting several other Re-
 flections, which might be made upon that
 Letter, let us only point out, in short, these
 two, which regard more nearly the present
 Debate. *First*, As to their excusing the *Cal-*
vinists, for their rejecting Episcopacy upon a
 Pretence of Necessity, it has been already ob-
 serv'd (Numb. 11. 12. and 13.) how weak
 this is, and how ungrounded, as also how
 naturally it leads to think, That they are consci-
 ous of a Defect in their pretended Orders,
 and That if it was not the Choice, but the
 Necessity of *Calvinists*, which made them aban-
 don

don Episcopacy ; yet it must be their Crime that makes them persist in the Refusal. Mr. Cressy in his *Exomologesis* Ch. 10. N. 1. observes, That they have been *earnestly solicited*, namely by Bishop Morton, to receive a Clergy by the Ordination of the *English Bishops*, but *utterly persisted in the Refusal*. Nor do the *Geneva Ministers*, either in their Letter to the University of *Oxford*, or in those to the Bishop of *London* (printed in the *Annals of Queen Anne*) make the least Advance towards admitting Episcopacy. Secondly, Where the University says, They never thought the *Calvinists* were destitute of *True Pastors*, or *Right Administration of Sacraments*, They must consequently admit, that mere Laymen may be true Pastors, and Ministers of the Sacraments. For the *Calvinists*, having no true Ordination, can be no more than mere Laymen. They must farther acknowledge, that neither making the Eucharist is a Priestly, nor making true Ministers an Episcopal Function, since both may be done by Laymen, and without Ordination. Can these Sentiments be, at the Bottom, any better than the *Presbyterian Principles*? Can Men, who have these Notions, be thought to mean any thing serious, when they talk of the *Essential Matter and Form of Ordination*, whilst they allow of true Priests and true Sacraments, where they own those *Essentials* are not used? To talk, of Water being the essential Matter of Baptism, and then tell us, That it may be rightly administered without it, is either an impious Jest, or an unaccountable Want of Reflection. And where is the Difference between this,
and

and telling us, what is essential to a valid making true Ministers and true Sacraments; and then adding, That both may be had without those Essentials? Yet this, we are told, *is* and *was always* the Opinion of the University, and of the *most celebrated Divines* of the Church of *England* by Law establish'd. A plain Indication, That it is not from the Imposition of Hands, but from the *Law*, that they derive their Orders. And in this Respect the University may very well be understood to style the *Dissenters* guilty of a *Rebellious* (perduellioni) withdrawing themselves from the *lawful Authority* (*legitimæ Autoritati*) of Bishops. But certainly it was a very improper Expression to speak to the Men of *Geneva* of a *Rebellion against their lawful Bishops*. It might look very like a sly Reproach of their Rebellion against their Bishop and Prince, with which they are so fairly and openly reproach'd in Mr. Collier's History; which makes it still more strange to hear the University add, That the *Dissenters* are not supported in their Anti-episcopal Sentiments by *Calvin's* Doctrine or Example. Their Letter quotes *Calvin* indeed, as saying, That those deserve the severest *Anathema*, who do not reverence *such a Hierarchy* (*talem Hierarchiam*) as that of *England*. But alas! What does this prove, but either *Calvin's*, or their Inconsistency? Theirs, if they are satisfy'd with *Calvin's* Notions of a Hierarchy; and His, if he pretended by those Words to allow Episcopacy for an Apostolical and divine Ordinance, which, it is well known, he believ'd to be merely human, if not wore. And when, infine, the

the learned Gentlemen of *Oxford* with other reform'd Churches would admit of Episcopacy, when they own it was taught the Apostles by *Christ*, and by the particular Influence of the *Holy Ghost*, when they profess it, flourish'd all over the *Universal Church* through all Ages, as founded upon more than human Authority, we heartily join in the Wish and the Profession; adding this farther Wish, that it were more consistent with their other Principles and Proceedings.

35. But, how little it is so, we have another Instance in the *Librarian*, pag. 23. He there tells us, That after the Restoration, King *Charles the Second* call'd four *Presbyterian* Ministers to *London*, An. 1664. who (says *Le Courayer*, citing *Mr. Collier*) "after they were made sensible of the *Invalidity* of their
"former Ordinations, were first ordain'd Deacons and Priests, and afterwards were consecrated Bishops, by the Bishop of *Winchester*, assisted by two others." I could hardly believe a Fact so opposite to that of *Bancroft's*, till I had consulted *Mr. Collier*. And when I found it so well attested, I could not but say: Whence could such Inconsistencies proceed? Sure they argue a wrong Beginning. Uncertainty of their original Orders, or a Conscioufness of their Defect, is the only way to account for such varyings in Opinions concerning *Validity*, and in Proceedings in conferring Orders. What was thought *Valid* in *Bancroft's* Days, was judg'd *Invalid* at the Restoration. Their Opinions alter with the Times. A certain Argument of wrong Principles. And it is

is particularly remarkable, That *Bancroft's* Opinion prevailing in the Year 1610, is a great Proof, That the Register publish'd first by *Mason* in the Year 1613, was *unknown* or *unheeded* by that Archbishop of *Canterbury* (in whose Custody it must have been) *Three* Years before. The Reason is clear. For if it was known or heeded in *Bancroft's* Days, if the Validity of the *English* Orders could be grounded upon it, then certainly it is not imaginable, That *Bancroft* and the rest of the Bishops, and the whole Clergy and Church of *England*, should *acquiesce*, as we have seen (Num. 32.) in such odd Notions and Proceedings with regard to Orders. I said, *the whole Church of ENGLAND*, because it must have been a common Duty to protest against such Opinions as were so plainly destructive of a true Episcopal Hierarchy, as those have been proved to be, Num. 32, 33. It is inconceivable, That Men, who either held a true Episcopal Succession to be necessary, or could prove their own Succession by such a Register, should in the Sight of the Nation allow mere Presbyterian Ministers to be as good Ministers as themselves. I shall have farther Occasion to shew, That as the Church of *England* changed the Forms of Ordination, because she changed the true Doctrine of Episcopal and Sacerdotal Powers, so she visibly changed her Language and Doctrines of Episcopacy, when she began to prove her Succession by the pretended Register. Here I will only add (lest I may be thought to have over-stretched the *Calvinist's* Principles of allowing, That not only Priests, but *Laymen* may
make

make true Ministers) That Dr. *Bennet* in his *Discourse of Schism*, Chap. 11. quotes these express Words and Facts from Dr. *Maurice*.
 “ By the Principles of those Churches Lay-
 “ men may confer Orders in some Cases; as
 “ appears by the first Ordination in *Paris*,
 “ where there was no Presbyter present; and
 “ by the Confession of *Bera*, in the Confe-
 “ rence of *Poissy*.

C H A P. V.

Remarks upon Le Courayer's second Chapter of Parker's Consecration.

36. **T**HE *Librarian's* second Chapter, which is one of the shortest of his Book, will require a large Number of Remarks to put those Matters in a clear and distinct Light, which he has only huddled together in short. How consistent it is with Candor to have slightly touched upon the many Reasons there are to doubt, at least of the very Fact of *Parker's* Consecration, let others judge. But how very slightly the *Librarian* has really done it, will appear, when after having produc'd our Proofs against it, I shall come to a particular Application of them to what he says, either in favour of his own and the Protestant Account of this Matter, or in Answer to that of Catholics.

*General Reflections upon the Protestant Account of
Parker's Consecration.*

37. Every one knows in general, how strangely different are the Accounts of the *Fact* of *Mathew Parker's* Ordination according to *Catholicks* on one Hand, and the *English Protestants*, on the other. Those maintain it was done (in a manner, own'd by their Adversaries in this Debate, to be certainly invalid) at the *Nags-Head Tavern* in *Cheapside*. These affirm it was performed in a very Solemn and Publick manner at *Lambeth*. Before we examine the grounds produced on either side, for these opposite Relations, it is of Importance to observe a vast difference in the Case, as to the main Point of Ordination, whichsoever of those opposite Relations should appear to any one the more probable. For Probabilities in fine, are not here Sufficient. Fatal are the Consequences of invalid Ordinations of particular Persons. Much more in those of a whole National Church. All manner of rational Doubts are here to be removed with the utmost Care. Where any reasonable Uncertainty remains, securer Orders must be sought. Since therefore *Parker's* Ordination is the Source of all others of the *English* Protestant Ministers, it must be unquestionably made out, or a new one procured. The Fact must be proved to a degree of Demonstration. The Relation must be attested beyond all reasonable Suspicion
of

of Forgery. On the contrary a mere probable Reason to credit the *Nag's-head* Relation, is sufficient to cast the Ballance, and oblige our Adversaries to give up the Cause, and obtain securer Orders. Any one good and prudent Reason to suspect the *Lambeth* Account or to credit the other, is sufficient to oblige them in Prudence and Conscience to seek a Remedy to the Uncertainty, and own their Orders insufficient. This their *French* Champion very justly confesses, where pag. 303. he says: That *in things of this Nature it is Necessary that Facts should be certain, to the End that one may draw a sufficient Consequence from them.* Now a Fact cannot be Certain if the opposite Fact is probably attested, or that it self is reasonably suspected. For, Certainty is not consistent with a *Reasonable Doubt* of the Contrary. And therefore as he owns in the same Place, That *if the Uncertainty of Parker's Ordination were manifest, one must necessarily abandon the Defence of the Succession*; so he must grant, That where the contrary Doubts are reasonable, There the Uncertainty is manifest. It will therefore avail them nothing to prove the *Nag's-head* Account to be doubtful, since That may be doubtful, and the *Lambeth* Account be also still doubtful; and reasonable Doubts on either Hand, leave their Orders uncertain. Nay even supposing the *Lambeth* Account to be sufficiently proved, still there will remain abundant Proofs of the Invalidity of their Orders, as we shall see hereafter.

38. I would not have my Meaning here mistaken, as if I apprehended the *Nag's-head*
 E Account

Account were less probably supported, than that of *Lambeth*. The contrary will soon appear. In the mean while, it is not improper to observe farther in General, That supposing again the *Lambeth* Account to be sufficiently prov'd, it will also prove of a sad Consequence to the Protestant Cause in another Respect, and that very nearly connected too with the Question of their Orders. For it naturally leads one into this Reflection: If *Parker* was consecrated only on the 17th of *Decemb.* 1559; if, as *Mason* says, the *Six* Protestant Bishops nam'd for it, in the Queen's pretended Commission, were lately return'd from *Exile*; if, as it is certain, none of those *Six* were in actual Possession of Bishopricks, and *Two* of them only *Suffragans*, and another only an *Irish* Bishop, even in our Adversaries Account; if, as all must own, the whole Body of Catholick Bishops unanimously rejected Queen *Elizabeth's* pretended Reformation of Religion; then it evidently follows That all she did in the *first* Year of her Reign, till the middle of *December* (and she did more in Changes of Religion in That, than in all the Forty Three remaining Years of her Life) was merely by her own Supremacy, and the Concurrence of the Parliament: Consequently her whole Reformation, till that time at least, was no more than by Regal and Parliamentary Authority at most. For, tho' the Acts pass'd in that first Year of her Reign, in the usual Stile of *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*, yet it is certain they were pass'd, not only without the Consent, but even in the *Absence*, and with the *positive Refusal* of all

all the Catholick Bishops ; and as for Protestant Bishops, they were out of the Kingdom by these Mens Accounts ; and wherever they were, they could not be look'd upon as the whole Episcopal Body of *England*, nor was their Voice ask'd, nor They admitted into Parliament ; nor if They had voted there, could that have been look'd upon as an Episcopal Decision of religious Matters. I have shew'd above (Numb. 23, 24.) that it was not the Act of the Bishops and Clergy, which brought in the Changes of Religion in King *Edward's* Days. But however, infine, That was brought in, it was entirely reversed in Queen *Mary's* Reign, and was to begin quite anew in Queen *Elizabeth's*. And there being no Protestant Bishops in the beginning of her Reign, much less a Majority of them, it follows, That when the New Religion was to be *enacted* again, it could only be so by a Parliamentary Law, not by any Ecclesiastical Sanction. Whence it farther follows, that if *Parker* and the other new Protestant Prelates, judg'd that the Queen did not exceed her Powers in making such *Essential* Changes in Religion, not only *without Bishops*, but *against them*, then both she and her new Prelates must be thought to have had very strange Notions of Episcopal Institution and Power in spiritual Matters, and to have believ'd That she might as well *enact* and declare them to be true Bishops, without any true Ordination from Bishops, as she could *enact* Ecclesiastical Decisions of the highest Nature without them ; and that as their Religion, so their Ordination, needed no other than the Queen's supreme spiritual Power.

How plainly these were their Principles, will appear more fully in the Sequel.

39. In the Interim, to give a general Notion of how little Credit the *Lambeth Register* deserves, let us propose this fair Question. When People have been publickly accused of entring into an Estate without any Just Title, is it credible the Persons accused should have the Deeds of Conveyance, and full Proofs of it, in their own Custody, daily under their Eye and in their Hands, without any thing to hinder them from producing the Deeds, but on the Contrary under the strongest Motives of Interest and Provocation to do it, and yet should never for above *fifty* Years of a repeated Call, make any Offer of producing Them? If after that long Term of Years, a great *Heap of Writings* unheard of Before, should be produced, but no sooner produc'd than refused as a Forgery by the contending Party: If every Body immediately ask'd, where have these Writings been kept? They are too Many to have been overlooked, too important to have been unregarded by the Defendents: If upon examining into the Writings they are found to contain several Improper Clauses, studied Affectations, absurd Particulars, Inconsistencies with Times and Persons, with other certain Acts and Records, and with Themselves; would any one question but that they were certainly forged to support an unjust and sinking Cause? Yet this is the very Case of the Register. No: I mistake. The Case of the Register is far worse. To make a closer Parallel I should have added, that the

the World knows, and even the unjust Possessors own, that the Persons, who had an undoubted Right to the Estate, absolutely refused, tho' urged by Fair and by Foul Means, to sign the Conveyance; I should have added that very Credible Witnesses deposed, That the Conveyance was so far from being Solemnly made, That it was only pass'd to the unjust Usurpers at a very illegal Club, by an Act void of it's own Nature, and by all Laws: I should have added they were not pleaded till after the odious Fact of their *Tavern Club* had been laid open to the World. &c. The Application and Proofs of these Particulars (so convincing Arguments of Forgery) will appear in the following Paragraphs.

§. 2.

The Register is incredible, because inconsistent with the most notorious Objections of Catholic Controvertists of those Times.

40. By the pretended *Lambeth Register*, the Ordination of *Parker* was perform'd solemnly and publickly, in a great Concourse of People, and must have been notorious to the World, and much more notorious, than any of the Acts or Registers deposited in any Office or Library to attest it in future Times. Just as the publick Ordination of the present *Metropolitan* is more notorious, than any Writing in which it is registred: Consequently so notorious a Fact could not be denied or question'd by wise Men, who liv'd at the very time, and who were not only

very capable, but also very much interested to know the Truth of *Parker's* Ordination. And yet we find the most learned Controversists of those very Times, engag'd in eager Disputes concerning the Ordination of the new *English* Prelates, not only denying the Validity of their Ordination, but defying them to name *where, when, by whom* they were ordain'd. Could such a Defiance enter into the Thoughts of any but Mad-men, if all those Particulars were then publicly notorious? The Imposture, the Folly, of such a Denial must have been too great, to have ever appear'd in the Face of Enemies, the most watchful of all their Mistakes, and the most ready to reproach them upon so fair an Occasion, as of being able to confound their extravagant Folly, by appealing to the publick Notoriety of Facts. And yet Catholics then openly, besides other Arguments, urg'd their Adversaries about that very time, with this, that they could not, or dared not, name the Manner of their Ordination. Dr. *Champney* (against whom the *Librarian* often shews a very unpolite, and unjust Spleen) in his learned Book printed in 1616, against *Mason*, upon the present Question, was very well aware of the Force of this Argument. He produces (Numb. 14. chap. 13.) large Extracts from Dr. *Harding* against *Jewel*, by which it manifestly appears, that the new Prelates Ordination was so far from being such as the *Register* represents it, that the contrary was sufficiently known. Mr. *Collier* gives a just Testimony to the Learning of Dr. *Harding*; and the Character he had both in
our

our own, and foreign Universities, and his Works make it unquestionable. His Wisdom and Virtue equal'd his Learning, and his Circumstances made him particularly capable of judging of the Fact in Question. For, he was not only in *England* about the time of making the new Prelates, but was *Treasurer* of *Salisbury*. Having fully consulted his *Detection* printed in 1568, That is, eight Years after the Fact in Question (and he had urg'd the same two Years before in his *Confutation*;) to a part of what is quoted by *Champney*, I will add some other Places, which will be a full Conviction of the Falshood of the *Lambeth* Account of the new Ordinations, and of use to some other Points of their Validity.

41. Fol. 39. " Truly touching your Dignity, what Accompt soever you make of your Self, I take you but for M. *Jewel* Batchelor of Divinity, sometime Parson of *Sunningwel*, between *Oxford* and *Abington* and that is the greatest Degree that ever I knew you called unto — A Bishop you are not *I am right sure*, neither can all the Kings and Queens in the World, nor all the Parliaments of *England*, by any *their own only Power* and Authority, make you a Lawful and true Bishop. The same I told you in my Confutation of your Apology, which Point you have not Sufficiently Answered. But I bear with you, as therein not lacking good Will, but Ability. Study for it so long as you will you shall never be able to make it Good, that you are yet a right Bishop. Therefore

“ in this respect you ought to bear with my
 “ bold Utterance the more, taking you for no
 “ greater Man in right then you were, when you
 “ Subscribed in *Oxford* to the *Real Presence* to
 “ the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, and to those o-
 “ ther Points that you now Impugn so bu-
 “ sily. In very Deed this much I confess,
 “ that in Case you were a *Bishop*, though
 “ an unworthy Bishop, yea a wicked Bi-
 “ shop: Yet for the Dignity of that Vocati-
 “ on, and for the *Order's* sake, I should, I
 “ would reverence you accordingly.”

I quote these Words at Large not only as
 they positively deny the new Prelates to be
true Bishops, and plainly signify, that he knew
 of no other Pretence they could lay to *Epis-
 copacy* but by the Queen's or Parliaments *own*
only Power; but also to prevent my being
 obliged to quote them at large again where
 we shall find the *Librarian* pretending, That
Harding and other Catholicks of those Days
 only denied them to be *Lawful* or *Canonical*
Bishops. In the same View of avoiding the
 Trouble of producing the Words again at
 large, I observe here, for future Use, That
Harding, perfectly acquainted with the New Prin-
 ciples of those Days, tells them openly that
 they deny not only the *Real Presence*, but the
 true *Sacrifice of Mass*. And this Method I shall
 observe in the following Quotations.

42. Fol. 193. b. “ Whatsoever ye mean by
 “ your *Minister*, and by that Office; this *we*
 “ are assured of, that in this your new Church,
 “ Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons or
 “ any other inferior Orders ye have none. In
 “ saying this, *we* speak not of our Apostates,
 “ that be fled from us to your Congrega-
 “ tions.

" tions; Who, as they remain in the Or-
 " der which they received in the Catholick
 " Church, so being divided and cut off from
 " the Church and excommunicate, lawfully
 " they may not minister the Sacraments.
 " For whereas after the Doctrine of your
 " new Gospel, like the forerunners of Antichrist,
 " *ye have abandon'd the external Sacrifice and*
 " *Priesthood* of the new Testament, and *have*
 " *not in your Sect Consecrated Bishops*, and there-
 " fore, *being without Priests made with lawfull*
 " *laying on of Hands*, as Scripture requireth,
 " all holy Orders being *given by Bishops* on-
 " ly: How can ye say that any among ye can
 " lawfully Minister, or that ye have any law-
 " full Ministers at all? "

Here we see 1st by his saying *we are assur-*
ed, that it was not only the doubtfull Opin-
 ion, but the positive and *certain* Judgment,
 not of Him only, but of Catholicks in ge-
 neral (who being the nearest in Time were
 best Judges of all Facts and Circumstances)
 that the Orders of the new Gospellers were
 invalid. For *Secondly* He clearly Distinguishes
 between *lawful* and valid Orders, owning them
 Valid, tho' not Lawful in Apostates. *Thirdly*
 That they denied *external Sacrifice*. *Fourthly* That
 they had *no Consecrated Bishops*. For tho' he
 adds without *Lawful* laying on of Hands,
 he there evidently means *Lawful* in the most
 extensive Sense of the Word, as it Imports
 also a valid Ordination; since he also adds,
 that Orders can be given *by Bishops only*. He
 plainly argues *a fortiori*, that having no Va-
 lid Bishops, much less can they have Law-
 ful Priests. *Fifthly* It is here Chiefly to be
 observed

observed, that since he says they have *no consecrated Bishops* he must either have known that *Barlow* and *Hodgskins*, were never truly consecrated, or that they did not perform the consecration of *Parker*. For, if he had known that they consecrated *Parker*, and that *Parker* consecrated *Jewel* and others (as he must have known it if it had been so notorious as the Register makes it) he might have said they had no lawfull Bishops, or that they had no valid Bishops, upon Account of their being made by an invalid Form; but he could not have laid the Invalidity of their Orders upon this ground, that those who ordained them *were not true Bishops*. All this will appear still more by what follows.

43. *Ibid.* After having desired *Jewel* to answer *directly*, he asks him: *Fol: 194* "How prove you your self lawfully call'd —
 " How can you reckon us up your *Succession*, by
 " which you refer your *Imposition of Hands*
 " and *Consecration* to some of the Apostles, or
 " of their Scholars — [and then having shewed, that they have no Succession of Doctrine that is, no Bishops to produce who have taught their Doctrine through all Ages, tho' this Succession of Doctrine is requisite besides the Succession of Persons, he goes on:] *Fol. 195.*
 " Therefore to go from your Succession, which
 " you cannot prove, to your *Vocation*, How
 " say you Sir? You bear your Self as though
 " you were Bishop of *Sarisbury*. But how
 " can you prove your *Vocation*? By what *Authority* usurp you the Administration of
 " Doctrine and Sacraments? What can you
 " alledge for the Right and Proof of your Ministry

" nistry ? *Who* has call'd you ? *Who* has laid
 " Hands on you ? By what Example has he
 " done it ? *How* and by *whom* are you con-
 " secrated ? [Here again, *First*, it would be
 in vain to cavil at the Words *lawfully* call'd.
 For it is manifest he extends it to the Validity,
 since in a *lawfull* Call he includes Imposition
 of Hands. *Secondly*, If he had known *Barlow*
 was a true Bishop, and had laid his Hands
 upon *Parker*, he might indeed have asked
Jewel how he proved that Imposition of Hands
 to be lawful or valid ; but how could he with-
 out the utmost Folly, defy him to name *who*
 laid Hands on him ? It is true He there asks
 him also, who made him Priest (for he neither
 thought him a *True* or a *Canonical* Priest) and
 urges, that Bishops, according to the Canons,
 were always made by *three* Bishops with the
 Consent of the Metropolitan, and Confirmation
 of the Bishop of *Rome*. But tho' he urges the
Uncanonicalness of his Ordination, it is clear
 this is not all he urges, but that he farther in-
 sists upon it, that he can name *no true Bishop*
 that ordained him. Consequently again ei-
 ther he knew nothing of his Consecration by
Barlow, or he knew *Barlow* was no Bishop.
 And this appears farther by what follows.
 For, after he had objected to him the Example
 of *Ischyra*, who had received no Ordination
 but from *Colluthus*, who was himself no more
 than Priest ; after he had added the Example of
 others, who had usurped the Office of Priests
 and Bishops without any Consecration from
 any true Bishop ; he adds : *Fol. 196. a.* " Thus
 " they be neither *Priests* nor *Deacons*, which be
 " not consecrated lawfully, according to he
 " Order used in the Church, that is to wit,
 " by

“ by *Bishops* lawfully consecrated, but either
 “ by the People or the lay Magistrate, as it
 “ is in some Places, where this Doctrine is
 “ professed, or by Monks and Fryars Apo-
 “ sitates, or by excommunicate Priests having
 “ *no Bishoply Power*”. In which Words it is
 clear that by *lawfully Consecrated* he means also
 validly, since mere Priests cannot ordain valid-
 ly ; and no less clear, That he objects to them
 their having no better Consecration than from
 mere Priests at most. And again *fol. 197. a.* he
 presses closer. “ It remaineth *M. Jewel*, that
 “ you tell us whether your Vocation be or-
 “ dinary or extraordinary. If it be ordina-
 “ ry shew us the *Letters of your Orders* ; at
 “ least shew us that you have received Power to
 “ do the Office you Presume to Exercise, by due
 “ Order of Laying on of Hands and Consecra-
 “ tion. But Order and Consecration you have
 “ not. For who could give that to you of all
 “ these new Ministers, or howsoever else you call
 “ them, which he has not himself? Here again
 it is still more evident, that *Barlow* was not
 the Ordainer of *Parker*, since if he was any
 Bishop, he was not at least one of the *New*
 Bishops, whereas *Dr. Harding* manifestly ob-
 jects, that all the Ordination they can pre-
 tend to, was from the *New Ministers*. And
 when he says, *Shew us the Letters of your*
Orders, or at least that you have receiv'd Im-
position of Hands, and of whom, he plainly
 hints at the Reflection made above (*Numb.*
4c.) that the *Fact* of his Ordination, if it
 had been solemnly perform'd, and in a Man-
 ner which *Jewel* durst have own'd, must
 have been more notorious, and a more cer-
 tain

tain thing, as well as more easily prov'd, than the *Letters of his Orders*. It is moreover observable, that in the Margin, he calls the precedent Questions, *Fol. 195. a. Hard Questions proponed to M. Jewel*, and of the last mention'd, *Fol. 197. a.* the Margin says, *The Defenders have nothing to say for Defence of their Vocation*. Whereas the Questions and Defence would be very easy, as to the Imposition of Episcopal Hands, if it was notorious, that they were consecrated by *Barlow*, and that *Barlow* was a true Bishop. They would still indeed be hard Questions as to the Validity upon other Accounts, but not at all as to the Point of their *Ordainer* being more than a mere Priest, or not being one of the *New Bishops*, or ordain'd by the *New Form*. For if *Barlow* was consecrated at all, it was by the *Old Form*. And to shew from whence all their pretended Orders flow'd, he adds *Fol. 197. b.* " Though the Prince have
 " thus promoted you, yet be ye Presumers,
 " and Thrusters in of your selves. Well
 " Lands and Manors the Prince may give
 " you ; Priesthood and Bishophood the Prince
 " cannot give you."

44. Besides these Places, which *Dr. Harding* repeats from his *Confutation of Jewel*, there are others in his *Detection* which prove the same still farther. Thus when *Jewel* in reply to what *Harding* had said of the Ancient Custom of a Bishop being consecrated by three Bishops, had urged the Opinion of *Paludanus* That one Bishop is sufficient to consecrate another, and that it is only for Solemnity that the Church requireth three, *Hard-*
 ing

ing answers: " Fol. 228. I meant that in
 " all *Solemn Consecrations* it hath been so,
 " and *Petrus de Palude* denieth it not, but
 " he saith one sufficeth, and meaneth that
 " in a Case of Extremity one Bishop alone
 " may consecrate another: And the same I
 " deny not. But consider for what purpose
 " I spoke it. My Talk was directed to you
 " M. *Jewel* and your *Fellows*, who after fif-
 " teen Hundred Years in a Realm that has
 " not lacked Christian Pastors and Bishops
 " in it for the space of these Thirteen Hundred
 " Years together, *ought not now to pretend a-*
 " *ny Necessity* as though *three Bishops* could
 " not be found, either in that Country or
 " in the next, *who might Solemnize* your Or-
 " dering and Consecration. " And Fol. 229
 " Again admit it to be an Ordinance of Man
 " that a Bishop should be consecrate of *three*
 " other Bishops. Is it therefore in your pow-
 " er to *break every Ordinance of Man* ? "

Whoever considers, that Dr. *Harding* ex-
 pressly directed his Discourse to the *new* Pre-
 lates reproaching them with *breaking* the
 ancient Custom of being consecrated by *three*
 Bishops, must think him mad to lay such
 a Charge, if the contrary *Fact* was *Notori-*
ous; or *Jewel* must have been no less silly
 to have omitted so plain a Refutation of the
 Calumny, by an Appeal to the *Register*, or
 rather to the *Publick Notoriety of the Fact*.
 He speaks of *Solemn Consecrations*, ever re-
 quiring three Bishops, and of their *Pretend-*
ing a Necessity to break through this ancient
 Custom. His Discourse amounts plainly to
 this: Your Consecration is not to be defend-
 ed

ed upon this Account, among many others, That you were not consecrated by *three Bishops in a Solemn Manner* but *pretend a Necessity* to break so ancient a Law. Mr. *Jewel* was press'd to answer *directly*. How easily might he do it, if the *Solemnity* of *His* and *Parker's* Consecration by *three Bishops* was notorious? It is not credible the one should in that Case be so wild as to make that Objection, or the other so weak as to omit the Answer. *Harding* tells him *three Bishops* might have been found to *solemnize* your Consecration. Could *Jewel* omit so fair an Occasion of confounding him with the *Register* and the *Notorious Solemnity* of the *Fact*, if they had been true?

45. What confirms all this much stronger is, That M. *Jewel* having answer'd that he was *Canonically* and *Solemnly* elected by the Chapter of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Harding* Denies indeed the *Canonicalness*, but not the *Solemnity* of his Election. He grants that a part of the Chapter chose him, tho' not by a Free Election. On the Contrary he not only denies his being *Lawfully* Consecrated, but absolutely, That he was consecrated by any true Bishop. He does not defy him to name *who elected him*, but he Defies him to Name *who*, and *what Bishops imposed Hands upon Him*. And when *Jewel* had answer'd, *our Bishops are made in Form and Order as they have been Ever, by Free Election of the Chapter, by Consecration of the Archbishop, and other three Bishops*, do's his Adversary grant the *Fact* as *Notorious*? Nothing less. Not to let slip so fair an Occasion of disproving the Consecration of them all for the Future,

in

in disproving *Parker's*, who was to be the Source of all, *Dr. Harding Replies: Fol. 234. b.* " And how I pray you, was your Arch-
 " bishop himself consecrated? *What three Bi-*
 " *shops* in the Realm were there to lay Hands
 " upon him? You have now uttered a *worse*
 " *Case* for your Selves, than was by me be-
 " fore named. For your *Metropolitan*, who
 " should give Authority to all your Consecra-
 " tions, himself had no Lawful Consecrati-
 " on. *If you had been Consecrated* after the
 " Form and Order, which has ever been used,
 " *ye might have had Bishops* out of *France*
 " to have consecrated you, in Case there had
 " lacked in *England*. But now there were an-
 " cient Bishops in *England*, who either were
 " not required, or *refused to consecrate you*,
 " which is an evident Sign, that ye sought
 " not such a Consecration as had been ever
 " used, but such a one whereof all the for-
 " mer Bishops were ashamed. "

I shall have Occasion hereafter to observe why he calls *Parker's* Consecration a *worse Case*, than what he had hitherto named, and such a one as the ancient Bishops thought, not only Invalid, but *Shameful*. At present I observe, *First*, That he here again plainly means either, That *Barlow* was not then in the Realm, or at least not the Consecrator of *Parker*, or no Bishop. *Secondly*, That neither the Old Ones did it, nor were there three *New Ones* to do it. For, if you suppose there were three at least of the *New Ones*, then in the Realm, then the Meaning must be, That however they were not there to ordain him. *Thirdly*, That it would be in vain to cavil at

at *Harding's* saying, That *Parker* had no *lawful Consecration*. For, besides that, I have already shew'd, That he uses the Word *Lawful* in that full Extent, which includes Validity, this is what manifestly appears farther from what he says in the very next Page; *Your Bishops were neither consecrated by those, who lineally succeeded the Apostles* (which could not be true, if *Parker* was validly ordain'd) nor have, by your own Confession, more Power by God's Law than a Priest: You both have false Bishops without the true Church, and a false Church without true Bishops. And he goes on in the next Page, declaring, That he speaks of such Bishops as have a *valid Consecration*, and a Power of *ordaining* others, which Priests have not. *Fourthly*, That it would also be more cavilling, to pretend *Harding* does not deny *Parker* was consecrated by Bishops in a *solemn Manner*, but only that he was not consecrated according to the *old Form*. By those Words the *Form and Order*, which has ever been us'd, both *Harding* and *Jewel* mean not precisely the *Form of Words* in the Pontifical, but the whole ancient Method and Practice of making Bishops, even including the free Election, expressly mention'd by *Jewel*. And one Proof, which *Harding* brings of their not being made in Form and Order, as has been ever used, is this among others; *viz*, that they were not made by *any three Bishops*, nor consecrated by those who lineally succeeded the Apostles. To this *Jewel* never gave any direct Answer; he never nam'd who consecrated *Parker*; who was the Man by whom the *lineal Succession* was deriv'd; he never appeal'd

to the *Register*; nor to the more obvious *Notoriety of the Fact*. What can be concluded, but that both *Jewel* and *Harding* knew there was no such *Fact*, no such *Register* to prove they were consecrated by Imposition of Hands from any unquestionable Bishop, or in a Manner which *Jewel* could mention, without *Shame* to himself, and the rest of the pretended Prelates?

46. Mr. *Williams* in the tenth Chapter of that angry Book he has also writ of the *Succession of Protestant Bishops asserted*, pretends that the Controversy in Queen *Elizabeth's* Days turn'd upon this, That the Protestant Bishops had no *Succession of Doctrine*, and were not confirm'd by the Pope, and that our Authors urg'd they had no Consecration in *this limited Sense*; but not that they had no Consecration at all; and he singles out Mr. *Harding* to prove this. But certainly he could not have singled out a clearer Proof of his little Candor, or Reflection. For, tho' he only quotes *Harding* by such Pieces as he found in *Jewel*; even by those it is evident, and still farther by what I have produc'd, that *Harding* does moreover insist upon it, that, besides their not being lawful Bishops; *First*, Because not duly elected; *Secondly*, Not confirm'd by the Pope; *Thirdly*, As not having a true Priesthood; *Fourthly*, As wanting Succession of Doctrine: He adds; They moreover, *Fifthly*, Want Imposition of Hands from any True Bishop, and cannot, dare not name by whom and how they were consecrated. Is this denying them Consecration, only in *that limited Sense and general Terms*? The Want of Con-

Confirmation from the Pope was indeed one *Medium*, whereby *Harding* refuses to own them for Bishops, but it was not the only; and *Mr. Williams* must give us leave to wonder still farther at what he adds, That Catholics pretended at that Time, That the Pope's Confirmation was Essential to Ordination. No, Sir, neither at that, nor at any Time. It was and is requisite to a canonical, but not to an essential Ordination. But one true Bishop, at least, is essentially requisite; and *Harding* positively denies, they were ordain'd by any such. *Jewel* says only in general Terms we are consecrated by three Bishops; but tho' press'd to it, he dares not name them. He only says *We*. Because indeed from the Year 1562, they were generally so consecrated; but he does not say, That he himself was so consecrated; and press'd to name who consecrated *Parker*, he never answer'd. But, says *Mr. Williams* " The Consecrations were fresh
 " in the Memory of all Men, and particu-
 " larly of *Mr. Harding* — So that to pro-
 " duce Records against such a Man, who
 " was acquainted with the whole Transacti-
 " on would be impertinent. " Not at all. It would have been impertinent with a Witness (and *Jewel* was too smart a Man not to expose it) for *Harding* to challenge him to produce his *Letters of Orders*, to talk of *Registers* (as he expressly does, *Fol. 194. a.*) to ask *How* and by *Whom*, he was Consecrated, if *He* and all Men were so fully acquainted with the whole Transaction. But it would by no Means be impertinent in *Jewel*, when ask'd, to produce them, or to hint at them,

at least. Our Adversaries, and *Williams* here, in Particular, think it a mighty Argument against the *Nag's-head* Account, That *Harding* and others mention not the Particulars of it. I shall hereafter answer this Objection; At present I only observe, That the more Force they put upon this, the more they must own there is, in the Silence of Protestants, in the present Case. *Harding* was never ask'd any Questions of the *Nag's-head*: *Jewel* was ask'd again and again of his own Consecration, and Letters of his Orders. We shall see that *Harding* might have good Reason not to be particular upon that; and *Jewel* could have none to forbear Particularizing upon the *Lambeth* Account; but because he spoke to one that knew too much the whole Transaction. And what I have said to *Williams*, is a sufficient Answer to what *Bramhall* pretends to answer to *Harding*, in his 8th Chapter. For as to his saying, That *Jewel* was the Defendant, and the Burthen of the Proof did not rest upon him, it is Strange if he does not know, That the Defendant when ask'd important Questions arising in a Dispute, is obliged to answer; and That if he is silent, it must be thought the Burthen of the Proof is too great for Him. Some other Particulars in *Bramhall's* Answer to *Harding* will be refuted in other Places; and as to *Le Courayer's* Answer, I shall Speak to it in the Chapter where it occurs. I will only add here, That I have been the larger in stating the Authority of Dr. *Harding*, both for the Strefs, any impartial Man would lay on it, and
because

because it will help to clear the following Authorities.

§. 3.

The Lambeth Account incredible ; because inconsistent with Objections of other Catholick Controvertists of those Times.

47. It is well known, how great an Intimacy and Correspondence in their controversial Labours there was between Dr. *Harding* and the other learned Catholick Controvertists of Q. *Elizabeth's* Days, especially in the Beginning, when the Memory of a Publick Consecration of *Parker* must have been freshest in the Memory of all Men. Did any of them warn him of his Indiscretion, not to say Folly, in giving so fair an Occasion to their common Adversaries of insulting him for putting such Questions, so strangely impertinent, as His must have been, if the *Lambeth Account* was notoriously true? On the contrary, we shall see they not only give no Hint of having ever heard of such a Consecration, but even advance such Assertions as are entirely inconsistent with any such Notoriety of the Fact. Thus Dr. *Stapleton* not only denies them to be Bishops upon other Accounts, but expressly upon this, That they had *no Imposition of Hands*. Not only no Valid one, but *none at all*, from any Bishops. The only Book of that learned Man, which I was able to meet with here at first, is his *Promptuarium Catholicum*. The Edition is indeed only the *sixth*: Printed at

Antwerp by *Bellerus*, An. 1595. But *Staple-*
ton's Dedication bears Date, *August* An. 1588.
 However, either of the Dates is too near the
 Date of *Lambeth* Account, to imagine he
 could be so unwise as to deny so publick *a
 Fact, and affirm, That their Ordination was
null, upon this very Account, besides others,
 That they had *no Episcopal Imposition of Hands*
 from any true Bishops. Upon the Feast of
St. Mark. pag. 75. of the second Part, his
 Words are: " *Christus dedit Apostolos, Pro-*
 " *phetas, Pastores, Doctores. Isti postea alios*
 " *dederunt, alios, qui sibi in Officio succe-*
 " *derent, miserunt. Et ut ista missio clara et*
 " *certa esset, totiq; populo comperta, adhibita*
 " *est sollemnis ceremonia, Manuum Impositio —*
 " *Hæc quoq; manuum impositio, quâ mit-*
 " *tebantur semper in Ecclesia Christi opera-*
 " *rij, non ab alio quàm ab iis, qui jam antea*
 " *per manuum impositionem missi ipsi fuerant,*
 " *aut facta unquam fuit, aut fieri potest. —*
 " *Nemo legitime mittitur nisi ab Episcopo, per*
 " *manuum Impositionem mittatur. Hac missi-*
 " *one carent hodie Hæretici. A nullis enim*
 " *Episcopis missi sunt. Etsi enim nunc qui-*
 " *dem apud Calvinistas et Lutheranos plerosq;*
 " *mittantur Ministri per Manuum impositio-*
 " *nem, tamen quia primi Magistri a nemine ipsimet*
 " *mittebantur, tota hæc imaginaria Missio me-*
 " *rum nugamentum est. Quod enim in ra-*
 " *dice vitiatum est, et a principio nihil fuit, pro-*
 " *gressu temporis firmari aut rectificari non*
 " *potest — Dicit (Augustinus) Societatem*
 " *Christianam per Successiones Episcoporum*
 " *certa propagatione diffundi: Hæc certa pro-*
 " *pagatio est legitima ordinatio. Ab hac*
 " *pro-*

“ propagatione et radice præscinduntur Hære-
 “ tici, tum quia omni *poteſtate* mittendi, et
 “ propagandi carent, tum quia *nullos apud ſe*
 “ *habent* a quibus propagentur et creſcant —
 “ Tales alieni, prophani, Dominicæ ac Divi-
 “ næ unitatis inimici fuerunt *Calvinus, Lu-*
 “ *therus, omneſq; hodie in Anglia, ſunt pseudo-*
 “ *epiſcopi*, qui veris *Episcopis ad unum om-*
 “ *nibus*, poteſtate regiâ, eâq; ſæmineâ, ejectis
 “ et in vincula conſectis, *Episcopis*, inquam,
 “ qui in *Eccleſia Dei Ordinatione ſuccedaneâ*
 “ præſidedant, *nemini ſuccedentes*, ſed a ſeip-
 “ ſis incipientes, *a nemine manûs impoſitionem*
 “ *accipiebant*; Ne quidem a *Germanis* vel
 “ *Gallis*, aut alicujus reformatæ, ut vocant,
 “ *Eccleſiæ Paſtoribus*.” Not having ſeen this
 Place quoted by any one, I have deliver’d it at
 large, that the full Senſe might the better
 appear. And indeed it is ſo clear, that there
 needs very little Reflection to ſee it is entire-
 ly inconſiſtent with *Stapleton’s* having any
 Knowledge of the *Lambeth Account*, or *Bar-*
low’s being a true Biſhop. His Diſcourſe
 proceeds evidently upon this Ground, That
 whatever elſe is requiſite to a true Ordina-
 tion, this is particularly *neceſſary*, That He,
 who impoſes Hands be himſelf ordain’d; and
 then affirms, That upon this very Account
 the *Engliſh* pretended Biſhops, have no true
 Ordination, becauſe they had *no Impoſition of*
Hands from any Biſhop. He does not here
 examine by what Sort of *Ordinal* they were
 made, but what Sort of *Perſon* made them;
 and poſitively affirms, they were not ordain’d
 by any Biſhop. How impertinent, how ſilly
 wou’d this be, if his Adverſaries could juſt-

ly reply ? That if he would contest their Ordination it must be only from other Heads, but not for this; it being (thus might they say if the *Lambeth* Account were true) notorious, That our Bishops were, at least, ordain'd by Bishops. But as we may leave the Quotation to speak for it self, since it is too clear to be explain'd, so it will very much explain other Quotations from *Stapleton*.

48. When I come to Bishop *Bonner's* Plea against *Horn*, I shall take Notice of some other Places. Here I will only mention these Words: *Replica. ad Horni Flatum. lib. 4. cap. 7. Tom. 2. pag. 1144.* “ Si quærerem
 “ amplius quo jure nomen Episcopi Wintoniensis (ut in libro suo facit) sibi vendicet,
 “ cum tantum litteris patentibus suæ principis,
 “ ad hanc vocationem vocatus sit, sine consecratione aut impositione manuum cujuscunq;
 “ Episcopi — neq; illi neq; sui socij inordinati etiamnum existentes Prælati —
 “ pro se unquam respondere poterunt, neq; rationem reddere, cur veri Episcopi haberi
 “ debeant, sed potius meri Laici, vel simplices
 “ Presbyteri, ut ante fuerant, tantum manéant. Here again, as in his *Promptuarium*, he plainly puts the Issue, not only upon other Defects, but namely upon this, That they had no Consecration at all. He does not, as *Bramhall* and *Le Courayer* pretend, deny the Validity, because it was not done ritu Romano, or not for this Reason only; but because they had no Ordination at all, none but from the Queen's Patents, none from any Bishop. *Bramhall*, where he gives that Answer (chap 7.) says, we look upon Dr. *Stapleton* as one of the most rational

rational Heads, That your Church has had since the Separation. But certainly it is equally unintelligible how a *rational Head* could be ignorant of so publick a Fact, as the pretended *Lambeth* Consecration, or deny it so positively; or That his Adversaries should never appeal to the Notoriety of the Fact on one Hand, and of *Stapleton's* Folly on the other. Methinks too, we may have Leave to ask, what sort of Heads they must have, who can pretend that, *Stapleton* only denies the Orders of the new Bishops, as not made by the *Roman* Ritual, while his repeated Words express so fully, That not only the other Ceremonies were omitted, but even That *essential* Ceremony, of Imposition of Hands, from any ordain'd Bishop. However rational they may be in other Respects, in this they must be strangely unreflecting or un sincere. And it is very observable, that *Stapleton* insists upon it, That they had no such Ordination, not only in those Books he writ within half a Dozen Years after the pretended publick Fact, but also in those he publish'd thirty Years after; which shews that neither Friend nor Enemy had convinc'd him, nor even minded him of any Mistake, or of any thing worse than a Mistake in so notorious a Matter. Moreover he particularly distinguishes between their first Bishops, and those who were made afterwards, observing, That it is ridiculous in them to have first had no Ordination, but taken the Bishops Sees upon the Queen's *sole* Authority, and then afterwards ordain others by Imposition of Hands. His Words are "*Anglo-Calvinista*
" cum

“ cum sola auctoritate Regiâ Cathedras Episcopales occuparent, *nunc* per impositionem manuum omnes suos ministros ridiculè ordinant, allatrantibus Puritanis, et totam illam ceremoniam deridentibus.” It is justly termed ridiculous because having no Ordination themselves, they could give none to others. But it would be very absurd in *Stapleton* to make such an Objection if it was publickly known, That the first of those Prelates had been made with the same Ceremonies as they themselves used afterwards in making others.

49. In the same Manner *Bristow*, and Dr. *Allen* afterwards *Cardinal*, not only speak of the new Prelates as having no valid Ordination, but plainly as not knowing, That they even claimed any but from the Queen’s *Patents*, and as not having Imposition of Hands from any Bishop. The first Edition I have of *Bristow’s Motives* is only that of *Antwerp* an. 1599. But it was printed within seven Years after the *Lambeth* date. There, *Motive* 21. pag. 90. he first says in expresse Terms, That the *English Ministers are but very Laymen, unsent, uncalled, unconsecrated. Secondly*, “ Therefore holding amongst us when they repent and come back again, no other place but the place of *Laymen*. In no case admitted, no nor looking to minister in any Office unless they take our Orders, which before they had not. ” And then after some Texts from Scripture of the Necessity of *Imposition of Hands*, he goes on *Thirdly* “ Such was the Order of Christ’s Church, which the Apostles founded, Priests to be sent by Priests, and not by the *Letters patents* of King
“ or

" or Queen ——— Unto this they never were
 " nor ever shall be able to answer, no Exam-
 " ple being to be given in all this time of
 " Christ's Church, but that Preachers were
 " still sent by *such Orders*, and by *such Per-*
 " *sons* as I have said. " Now, what was that
Order he had said, but *Imposition of Hands*;
 and who were the *Persons*, but such as had
 been themselves ordained? And does not this
 manifestly import, That it was well known they
 had no true Bishop to impose hands upon
 them, and That this was so notorious, That
 even Protestants converted, never *look'd* upon
 themselves to have true Orders? We see no
 Appearance of Doubt in the Case. Independently
 of all other Defects, the Want of Imposition
 of Hands is urged as unquestionable. The
 Church acquiesces in the Evidence of this Want.
 It re-ordains them. They themselves so near
 the time of the Facts, are convinced. The
 Fact must then have been manifest, That the
 Persons, who pretended to be Bishops were
 not ordain'd by any Bishop. The great Stress
 is more upon the *Person*, who has Power to
 ordain, than upon the *Ordinal* by which he
 may ordain; and, That no such Person or-
 dained them, that no Imposition of Hands
 was given, is by contemporary Authors affirm-
 ed as a Thing so certain that *they never were, never*
shall be able to answer it. We find *Brislow* had
 heard of *Letters Patents*; But of *Registers*,
 or of Imposition of Hands, not a Word. The
 same we find from Cardinal *Allen*. In the
 Book he publish'd an. 1567. of the *Power of*
Priests to remit Sins, where Chap. 5. pag.
 97. he tells us: " If you ask of these Men
 " how

“ *how* they hold, they seek *no Fathers* after
 “ whom they may rightly rule: They seek no
 “ *large Row of Predecessors* in whose Places they
 “ may fit: they ask no counsel of God’s Church,
 “ by whose Calling they should govern: but they
 “ make a long Discourse of *Statutes and tem-*
 “ *poral Laws* to cover their ambitious usur-
 “ pation. ” And as it is evident he speaks
 of valid Ordination and of Succession by it,
 so it is very strange That among *large Dis-*
courses of Statutes and temporal Laws, nothing
 should be heard of *Registers*, nor of a *large*
Row of Predecessors, if the whole Nation knew
 they derived their Succession from Catholick
 Bishops, he might upon other Accounts, reject
 their Orders, but not upon this, if it was no-
 torious they had been ordain’d by Bishops.
 The question must have been ask’d of their
Ordinal, not of their *Ordainer*. And here
 it is to be observed, That if any one imagines
 this, and some other such Quotations *are but*
short Hints from which nothing can be concluded,
 as Mr. Williams pretends of all, but Dr. *Hard-*
ing’s; he ought to reflect *First*, That several of
 those, besides Dr. *Harding’s*, which have, and
 will be produced, are unjustly call’d mere *Hints*,
 and *Secondly*, That even short Hints are here strong
 Arguments, since they are Hints from Persons
 too Wise to hint at any thing inconsistent
 with a publick Notoriety of the Contrary, and
 so intimate with those Authors, who are lar-
 ger upon the Point, That they must in all rea-
 son be judged to mean the same with those,
 who are more fully expressive.

50. Upon this Account every Hint that im-
 ports an Ignorance of so notorious a Fact as
 that of *Lambeth* is pretended, might here be
 very

very reasonably alledged as a just Exception against it. And this not only from Books publish'd in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when it must have been fresh-est in every ones Memory, but in the latter End of it too. Nay in some Respects, these would be as full Testimonies against that Account as those earlier Writings. For they would prove, That even in all her Reign no such Fact was ever known or heard of; and consequently, That the *Register* was not yet in condition to appear. But not to multiply Quotations unnecessarily, I will mention but one of those later Books in her Reign. It is the *Reasons why Catholicks refuse to go to Church*, Printed at *Doway* an. 1601. In the *Seventh* reason he says: " The Service that
 " Christians ought to go to, should be said,
 " as also the Sacraments administred by
 " Priests and such as have received the Sa-
 " crament of holy Orders. — But now
 " that either all, or the most part of Mini-
 " sters of *England* be mere *Laymen* and no
 " Priests, and consequently have no Autho-
 " rity in these things, *it is evident* for ma-
 " ny causes; as well for that they have not
 " received the under Orders — as also
 " because *they are not Ordained by such a*
 " *Bishop* and Priest as the Catholick Church
 " has put in that Authority, which admit-
 " teth no Man for a Bishop, which is not
 " ordained by imposition of three or two
 " Catholick Bishops Hands at the least. Of
 " all which things none are to be found a-
 " mongst the Protestants. " Here if you sup-
 pose the Author mistaken in seeming to
 think

think the under Orders, or two Bishops requisite to a valid Ordination, still it is true, That he plainly means the Protestants have no true Orders, because their Bishops *had no Imposition from any two Bishops*. Consequently he either knew nothing of the *Lambeth Account*, or he knew at least that *Barlow*, and the other pretended Consecrators of *Parker* were no Bishops. And if the Author of this Book was *F. Parsons*, (as I am pretty well assur'd it was) there can be no Question of his Meaning; since, as we shall see hereafter, he not only believ'd they were not ordain'd by any two true Bishops at *Lambeth*, but was satisfy'd of the Truth of the opposite Account of the *Nag's-head*; which odious Account however he might very well omit mentioning in this Treatise dedicated to the Queen, not to exasperate her, while he sues for her Favour to Catholics.

§. 4.

The Lambeth Account incredible, because inconsistent with the Answers and Assertions of Protestant Controvertists of those Times.

51. In this Case we shall find Protestants full as strong Evidences against the *Lambeth Account* as Catholics. As to *Jewel*, the mighty Protestant Hero, it must be obvious to every one, how incredible it is, he should not have insisted upon it; when with an unpardonable Boldness, he had advanc'd a notorious Falshood, That *Harding* had consented to his Election in the Chapter of *Salisbury*: *Harding* wonders at his Impudence;
asks

asks him, *What would you do if I was dead, since you fear not to burthen me, being yet alive, with so false a Fact?* He then adds: *If my No be not sufficient to your Yea, let the Register's Book be view'd for the Trial between us both.* He appeals to Mr. Carew, Mr. Chandler, and others of the Prebendaries, whether he were at the Election. He tells him again: *I marvel that you ——— could not remember to call for the Register's Book, or for the Witness, or those of that Church there with you daily present.* (see Fol. 233. Detect.) Is it credible, That *Jewel* should not return the Charge of *Impudence* with Interest, That he should not appeal to *Registers* of his *Lambeth* Consecration, That he should name no Witnesses of his Ordination, if it were notorious? Could he avoid giving his Adversary so just a Confusion? When ask'd for the *Letters of his Orders*, and who ordain'd him, we still meet with none. He catches at his Adversary's seeming to affirm, That *Three Bishops* are requisite, and bobs him with *Paludanus's* Opinion, that One may suffice. (see Detect. Fol. 228.) but how much better had it been to have answer'd, That himself had been ordain'd by *Four*, and to have nam'd them, as the Register does, or at least to have appeal'd to the Publick? But not to multiply such Remarks, which are abundantly obvious, from what has been said in quoting *Harding*; let us see if other Protestants of those Days give us any Tidings from *Lambeth*.

52. On the contrary, when press'd by Catholics, upon the want of Consecration from such Bishops as had been ordain'd by Catholics

licks, they not only do not produce the Register, but affirm in the strongest Terms, That they *were not, ought not* to be so ordain'd. Thus Dr. *Champney*, Chap. 9. pag. 122. quotes from *Fulke* these vile Words: *You are highly deceiv'd, if you think we esteem your Offices of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons better than Laymen: And in another Book; with all our Heart we despise, abhor, detest, and spit at your stinking, greasy, Antichristian Orders.* If he had thought their own Orders were essentially deriv'd from ours, is it credible he would have spoken of them in these Antichristian Terms? *Champney* in the same Place quotes *Whitaker*, positively disclaiming any Ordination from us; *I would not have you think we make such a reckoning of your Orders, as to hold our own Vocation unlawful without them, and therefore keep them to your selves.* Is this the Language of a Man that knew of a Register, and deriv'd his Orders from it? Do they not Both speak the Sense of their own Church? It is not *I*, or *some of Us*, but *We*, in general. It is pleasant to hear *Bramhall's* Answer to these Places. *They were* (says he, ch. 9.) *both contemplative Men, cloister'd up in St. John's College, more acquainted with Polemick Writers than with Records.* But, by his Lordship's Favour, they must have been contemplative to a Stupidity, not to have heard either of the *Records*, or the *Fact* of *Parker's* Consecration, if it were such as is pretended. And when his Lordship adds: *You see Whitaker justifies our Ordination in this Place as lawful: I answer, He does so.* But how? By being deriv'd from Ours? No,
without

without them. Not only without them, but as we shall see presently, he does not only mean, that our Form was not us'd, as *Bramball* pretends he meant, but that they neither did, nor ought to receive Ordination deriv'd from us. *Fulke* puzzles *Bramball*, and forces him to own That Author might have express'd himself in more moderate Terms. They are to be expounded, says he, not of the Invalidity, but of the Abuse of our Orders. How forced an Exposition this is, needs no Proof, tho' it were not so clear, as it very evidently is, that *Fulke* denied the Necessity of succeeding by *Episcopal Ordination*. And when *Bramball* says of both those Authors, That one may easily be satisfy'd by the Records of their Ordination, that they were not *Enthusiasts*, he must then grant that they were something worse. For it is certain, they did not believe Succession by *Episcopal Ordination* to be necessary. Nothing can be more express than these Words of *Whitaker*. *Quid ergo? Nostra Pastorum Successio visibilis est? Nequaquam; neq; enim hoc necesse est.* Contr. 2. q. 5. cap. 16. Could he speak thus, if he believ'd their Succession visibly deriv'd by a Register of their Orders? But what need I insist upon this and other Places of *Whitaker* to the same Purpose? His Sentiments are so clear in this Point, that *Williams* (ch. 11.) gives him up as an *Apocryphal* Writer. As *Apocryphal* as he is call'd, he was however one of the new Church of *England's* ablest Writers, and Royal Professor at *Cambridge*. He could not be ignorant of the most publick Facts and Sentiments of

the Sect. And since by a *lawful* Ordination he plainly does not mean, nay, plainly rejects a successive one from us, he must be concluded to have known, it was not defensible by any true Register and publick Fact.

53. Nay *Whitaker* expressly declares, That provided their Election be lawful, they do not concern themselves about the Ordination of their Bishops: That where Ordination cannot be had, the same Persons who have Authority to name Bishops, have also Authority to ordain them: That therefore, since all the Bishops of those Times refus'd to ordain them, they were forc'd to seek Ordination by some other Means. "*Quod si vocationem nostrorum Episcoporum (electione) legitimam esse concedat, de Ordinatione non laboramus. Qui autem Auctoritatem habent vocandi, eadem Auctoritatem habent ordinandi, si, legitima Ordinatio non possit impetrari. — ad Episcopos verò illorum temporum quod attinet, illi nunquam induci potuerunt ut quemquam ordinarent, nisi qui illis per omnia faverent. Quod si illi recusaverint ordinare legitimè vocatos, necesse est aliunde Ordinationem accipere.*" Now let his Principles be here never so Apocryphal, yet it is evident, he knew nothing of the Register. Let him have been never so much cloyster'd up, he could not but have known, if it had been notorious to all, that altho' the Catholick Bishops refus'd, yet others, whom the Register speaks of, had done the Work. If therefore he would excuse the Ordination of other Protestants, upon Account of the Necessity of being ordain'd without Bishops, he could

could not but observe, That this Answer was needless for the Cause of the *English*, if the *Lambeth* Account were true.

54. Several other Protestant Controvertists might be alledged, affirming That our Orders are Antichristian; That mere Priests may ordain; That Succession is not necessary, and such other Assertions as sufficiently shew they knew nothing of their own successive Ordination from *Rome*. Thus the learned Mr. *Brerely*. *Protest. Apol.* printed an. 1608 pag. 360. cites *Gabriel Powel*, saying; *the Popish Ordination is nothing else but mere Prophanation — there is no true Ecclesiastical Vocation in the Papacy*. And pag. 361 he quotes *Sadel* (whose book was printed at *Cambridge* an. 1584) telling us, That several, who acknowledge the Doctrine of their Church, yet do affirm our Ministers to be destitute of all lawfull Calling, as not having a continued visible Succession, which they attribute to *Papists* alone. Every one knows *Sutcliffe's* wretched saying, That *the Turk's Mus-ti* is as good a Bishop as the Pope, and his Syllogism, That, *Antichrist cannot ordain: The Pope is Antichrist, therefore he cannot ordain*. And the Book entitled *Protest. Demonstr. against protestant Ministry*, 6th Demonstr. pag. 46. adds from the same *Sutcliffe* these Words: *We say — That in the Pope's Church our Ad-versaries have neither of these two lawfull, (viz.) the Right of Ordination, and the Substance of the Function whereto they are ordained) they have no Imposition of Hands, they have no lawfull Bishops*. And what makes these Places of *Sutcliffe* the more remarkable, is that he was one of the first, who mention'd the Register.

But as we shall see, that he mentions it in a way, that rather proves it forged; so it is plain he did not mention it, as if he thought their Ordination depended on their Succession from true Bishops. For (as cited again in *Protest. Demonst.* pag. 78.) speaking of Ministers ordain'd by *Luther, Zuinglius, Knox*, and others, he says; *neither is it Material that they were not Bishops.* Nor indeed in the Beginning, at least, of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, no not even till fifty Years after (that is, till about the Time of the Register being heard of, as Mr. *Ward* observes very well) do we find the *English* Controvertists ever doubted, but that other Protestants had true Ministers without Episcopal Ordination. We find them justifying their own, as well as others Ministry, upon the same Principles, That *Personal, lineal, uninterrupted, visible Succession* from Bishops ordained by ours, is not requisite, That Ordination by Priests only is enough: And is it credible, that Men press'd to tell who ordain'd them, should run to these Shifts, if they had been able to shew the Succession of their Clergy from Bishops? The Language of the *English* upon this head, began to change, when now the Register began to be thought Old enough to appear. Mr. *Williams*, Chap. 11. is very angry at this Assertion, That the *general Doctrine* of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign was, That *Episcopal Orders* are not *de Jure Divino*. But I have shewed (Num. 32) that *Burnet* tells us *we are sure* it was the Doctrine of the *whole Body* for *above half an Age*. And in the following Numbers it appears, That still, when press'd, they

they return to it again. *Bilson*, I own, in his Preface quoted by *Williams*, is pretty earnest to prove Episcopacy is an Apostolical Institution: But he neither says, That it is *essentially necessary* to the Constitution of a Church, nor if he did, could his single Testimony be a Proof of his Church's Sentiments, in Opposition to a greater Number of their earlier Authors. He writ that Book above thirty Years after *Parker's* pretended Consecration; and the *English* being now so long fix'd in their Livings, might begin to think of supporting them by a *Jure Divino*. But, *ab initio non fuit sic*. In the Beginning, the Queen's Patents was the Word: *Jure-Divino Bishops* was Popery. And still, when the Matter is to be clear'd, Episcopacy is only a Point of *Discipline*, instituted indeed by the Apostles; but so, That the University of *Oxford* declares (see Num. 33. 34.) it is the Opinion of their present and former learnedest Divines, That there may be true Ministers without Episcopal Ordination. But we shall have farther Occasion to shew what wrong Notions the pretended Reformers had of Episcopal Ordination, at the time of *Parker's* Installing; and thence it will farther appear, how justly we may conclude with Mr. *Ward*, That being in such Errors, it is less wonder they were not very careful to preserve the Validity, and contented themselves with that of the *Nag's-head*. Here I will only add these three short Reflections. *First*, That it is manifest from the Numbers last cited (32. 33. 34.) and from the Authors in this Paragraph, that it was, and is the Doctrine of

the Church of *England*, That Episcopacy is not *Essentially* requisite to the Conveyance of a true Ministry. *Secondly*, That as at first this Doctrine was made the great Defence of their Orders, before the Register induc'd them afterwards to pretend a lineal Succession by Episcopal Ordination; so one may very reasonably presume, That this Doctrine would not still subsist, but as a Refuge, when they are too closely press'd with the Arguments which prove the Register is forg'd. And, *Thirdly*, That when Mr. *Williams* says, *The general undoubted Histories of those Times, are so full, with respect to this Point (viz. That Episcopacy is Jure Divino) That nothing short of Romish Modesty can maintain the contrary;* We can easily pardon him that, and other rude Expressions; but must beg Leave to observe, That if he only means, that Episcopacy was thought an Apostolical, or a Divine Institution, as a *Discipline* of good, as well as of ancient Use in the Church, and which one might wish (*optandum erat*) to be preserv'd, even This was far from being allow'd by all in those Times: But if he means it was look'd upon as necessary for continuing a lawful or valid Ministry, the *University's* Letter alone is sufficient to shew, That we may with a great deal of Modesty, tell him he is under a very strange Mistake.

Lambeth Account incredible, because inconsistent with the Histories of those Times.

55. However incredible it is, that none of the *Polemick Writers*, who were near the Time, should mention the *Lambeth Consecration*, it is no less so, that nothing should be said of it by *Historians* of either Side. A Passage of so great Moment, could not escape either their Knowledge or their Notice. And yet, neither Friend nor Enemy relates it, and what they relate concerning the new Prelates, is inconsistent with it. Of the *Historians* who writ nearest those Times, no one speaks so fully of the making of the New Bishops, as *Sanders*. It is own'd, even by *Bramball* (*chap. 3.*) notwithstanding he shews the usual Spleen of Protestants, against the learned Historian, That, *He had Reason to know the Transactions of those Times.* But what need we prove his Knowledge of the Times? Who could be ignorant of so remarkable a Transaction, as the *Lambeth Account* is pretended? The Edition I have of *Sanders's Book, de Schismate*, is that of *Eder*, at *Ingolstade*, An. 1588. That what he says may appear the more fairly, I will cite him pretty fully. He therefore tells us, *Lib. 3. pag. 294.* That Queen *Elizabeth*, instead of *Elders*, resolv'd to have Bishops in Dignity and Name at least: *Vel animi proprij inductione*, "vel aliorum suasione, judicabat magis
" ad gloriam Spiritualis Prælaturæ suæ, ac
G 4 " regni

“ regni etiam temporalis splendorem, atq;
 “ demum ad sectæ etiam stabilitatem fore,
 “ ut Clerus quem esset institutura, secundum
 “ veteris Ecclesiæ distinctionem consisteret ex
 “ Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, et Diaconis. pag.
 “ 295 ——— distribuit mox omnes dignitates
 “ et Functiones Ecclesiasticas in suos *Luthe-*
 “ *ranos et Calvinistas*, sed *plures in hos*, quàm
 “ in illos: Venerant enim ad hanc prædam
 “ ex *Sabaudia*, aliisq; locis, quò antea pro-
 “ fugerant, rapidissimè hi ipsi, qui paulò
 “ prius secundum *Calvinum*, *detestabantur* istos
 “ superbos et *Antichristianos* in prælaturis
 “ *Principatus*, ac *Dominationes*. p. 296. — Cæ-
 “ terùm Episcopatus ac alias Prælaturas Ec-
 “ clesiasticas avidè et *sine scrupulo* captabant
 “ *Calvinistæ* ——— *Elizabetha* quidem ita hæc
 “ per literas patentes conferebat, ut tamen
 “ oportuerit eos quibus collata erant, a *certis*
 “ *Personis ac ritu etiam certo secundum leges*
 “ *regni ordinari.*” Possibly a Reader might
 think it strange to see me quote these last
 Words, while I pretend to prove from this
 Author, That the new Prelates were not or-
 dain’d according to the new Ordinal. But
 after I have desir’d him to believe from
 hence, that I am fair and candid in the
 Matter, I must also desire him to reflect,
First, That whatever were Queen *Elizabeth’s*
 private Persuasion or Design in making Bi-
 shops, yet she was so over-rul’d in the Choice,
 that *most of them* were *Calvinists*, who not
 only did not believe, that Bishops were *Jure*
Divino, but even thought them no better than
Antichristian. *Secondly*, That however, they
 took Bishopricks *without Scruple*, contrary to
 their

their own Doctrine ; so Godly they were. *Thirdly*, That when he adds, That they *ought* (*oportuerit*) to have been ordain'd by the *Persons* and *Rite prescrib'd by the Law*, this may indeed shew us what was the Queen's Design, but it also shews, what was the Conscience of those Men, who would accept of Bishopricks under such Conditions as they thought inconsistent with their *Calvinian Principles*. And therefore those last Words of *Sanders* prove indeed the unconscionableness of *Calvinists*, in their admitting Places, which *might* engage them to use such Ceremonies, and take upon them such Stations, as *they detested for Antichristian* ; but that they do not import, that the first Prelates were *actually*, but only *ought* (*oportuerit*) to have been so ordain'd, will appear by what follows.

56. He goes on pag. 297. "*Henricus Octavus, radix peccati, cum ab Ecclesiâ et sede Apostolicâ regnum suum divisisset, decrevit ; ne quisquam electus in Episcopum, Bullas Pontificias, seu mandatum Apostolicum de consecratione requireret. — Ceremoniam autem et solennem unctionem more ecclesiastico adhuc in consecratione illâ adhiberi voluit, quam postea proficiens in pejus Edwardus Sextus, sustulit, et pro eâ Calvinicas aliquot deprecationes substituit ; servatâ tamen semper priori, de numero præsentium Episcoporum qui manus ordinando imponerent, lege. Has leges novas sustulit Regina Maria ; Elizabetha in integrum restituit ac renovavit : Ut proinde oportuerit hos Reginales Prælatos ita quoque ordinari, ut consentiente Metropolitano, duo vel tres Episcopi assistant,*

“ *assistant, ipfisq; manus imponant.*” What? Does not *Sanders* say here again, That the new Prelates were to be, should be, ought to be ordain’d by the Ordinal, and the Number of Bishops prescrib’d by King *Edward* the Sixth? How then can we bring him for an Author, who denies the *Lambeth* Ordination? Does not *Le Courayer* pag. 34. quote the very Place which I quoted just before, of the *Certis personis, ac ritu certo*, as the Testimony of one *who cannot be suspected*, That the Queen *always took Care*, that the Ceremonies prescrib’d by the Laws should be observ’d? Yes, and *Le Courayer* goes still farther; but with what Candor, let others judge: For he translates the Word *oportuerit*, by these, *She oblig’d them* to be so ordain’d. Whereas I maintain, That *Sanders* only meant that they *ought, but yet were not* in Effect so ordain’d, as the Law prescrib’d. His Sense is plainly this: That altho’ the Queen had renew’d the Statute of *Edward VI.* altho’ the *Calvinian* Principles of the new Prelates should have made them scruple, at the Ceremonies which *ought* to have been then used, and were used afterwards; yet their Scruples did not hinder them from taking Bishopricks; That the Prayers indeed of the new Ordinal were properly *Calvinistical Prayers*, yet the Ceremonies, the Surplices, the Copes, the very Functions even of the new Episcopacy, was what had still, in their Opinion, enough of the *Antichristian*, and therefore they ought not in Conscience to have accepted of them; that however, the Advantage prevail’d over their Scruples: In fine, That altho’ they

ought

ought to have been so ordain'd, yet in Effect, it so happen'd, and *happen'd ridiculously*, that they were not so ordain'd. If *Le Courayer* had been so candid, or so exact, as to have quoted what follows, it would have plainly appear'd, that this is what *Sanders* affirms. For in the next Paragraph but one to the Words cited by the *Librarian* (which therefore he could not well be ignorant of) and in the very next Words of all to the Place I have last cited, he goes on with a *relative* Particle, which shews, that what follows is referr'd to what he had been saying, and the *Particle* being of the *Adversative* Kind, plainly imports, that the Ordination was not such as it ought to have been, even according to the new Laws.

57. His next Words are, pag. 297. "*Sed perridiculè accidit, ut cum isti superintendentes creandi essent, nec a Catholicis Episcopis impetrare potuerint, ut ipsis manus admo-*
verent, nec inter se aut tres, duosve Episcopos, aut ullum omninò suæ perfidiæ Metropolitanum, ab aliis Episcopis prius Ordinatum haberent, cujus vel manu vel consensu consecrari possent; nec etiam ad vicinas Lutheranorum aut Calvinistarum Ecclesias conferre sese commodè possent, ut inde mutuas Episcoporum (qui fortè nec ibi aderant) operas peterent: Instabant vehementer apud quendam Archiepiscopum Hibernum (quem tum Londini in vinculis habebant) ut in hac illis necessitate succurreret, et libertate illi, et præmiis propositis, si vellet istorum Ordinationi præesse; sed vir bonus nullo modo adduci potuit, ut hære-
ticis

“ tics facras manus imponeret, vel alieno
 “ peccato communicaret. Atq; *ita cum om-*
 “ *ni legitimâ ordinatione destituti vulgò dice-*
 “ *rentur*, et *ipsis legibus Anglicanis* verè pro-
 “ barentur non esse Episcopi, brachium fæ-
 “ culare invocare coacti sunt, ut laici Ma-
 “ gistratûs *confirmationem* in futuris comitiis
 “ acciperent; cujus autoritate, si quid mi-
 “ nus ritè, *nec ad præscriptum legum* in prio-
 “ ri inauguratione gestum esset, aut omissum,
 “ ipsis condonaretur, idq; postquam Episco-
 “ pali officio, et cathedrâ, *absq; ullâ Episco-*
 “ *pali consecratione* aliquot jam annis functi
 “ fuissent. *Hinc* nomen illis impositum, ut
 “ *Parliamentarii Episcopi* dicerentur.” In all
 this large Account, is there so much as any
 Hint of the *Lambeth Solemnity*? Every Sen-
 tence is contrary to it. *First*, After he had
 said, they *ought* to have been ordain’d ac-
 cording to King *Edward’s* Ordinal, he ex-
 pressly tells us; *But* they were not ordain’d
 either by such a *Rite*, or such *Persons*, as that
 required. *Secondly*, He positively affirms, That
 whereas that Ordinal requires a Metropoli-
 tan, and *Two or Three consecrated Bishops*,
 they had *none such among them*. Consequent-
 ly he is positive, That neither *Barlow*, nor
 the other pretended Consecrators of *Par-*
ker were true Bishops. *Thirdly*, That in this
Necessity, that is, in this *want of Bishops*, they
 endeavour’d, but in vain, to get some Ca-
 tholick Bishop to *preside* at their Ordination.
 Could it ever have enter’d into their Thoughts
 to have been so earnest in getting Orders
 from a Catholick, if they had been able to
 have it done by undoubted Bishops of their
 own?

own? Such Addreffes are never made to Adverfaries but in extreme Neceffity and Want. *Fourthly*, That it was notoriously and commonly faid by all, (*vulgó*) that they had *no Ordination*, not only none fuch as Catholicks wou'd own, but not even fuch a one as the new *Engliſh Laws*, that is, the new Ordinal requir'd. *Fifthly*, That *this was the Reason* of their being oblig'd to get themſelves confirm'd by the Parliament, and that *hence*, (*viz.* From this Confirmation given them, notwithstanding it was ſo well known they had not been ordain'd according to the new Ordinal, nor by true Biſhops) they were call'd *Parliamentary Biſhops*. And may we not now ſafely appeal to the World, whether it be poſſible, that a Man in his Wits ſhould give this Account, if the contrary *Lambeth Account* was notorious? Rail at *Sanders* as much as you pleaſe; no Railleries ſhall ever ſilence ſo poſitive, ſo full an Evidence.

58. It is very pleaſant (barring the Pity we owe them, for the extream Spleen they ſhew againſt Dr. *Sanders*) to hear what our Adverſaries answer to his *Contemporary Account* of this Matter. *Bramhall* in the firſt Place, Chap. 3. calls it a *Shameleſs Untruth*, to ſay they had not two or three Biſhops, or one Metropolitan amongſt them. For ſays he, *The Queen's Commiſſion names Seven*. And have we not Reason to call this a pleaſant Answer? The very Queſtion is, Whether the pretended Records of that Commiſſion, among other Appurtenances of the *Lambeth Account*, are not forg'd. We prove them forg'd by the contemporary Evidence of *Sanders*, which is
inconfiſtent

inconsistent with it. You answer, by producing an Instance, which is a clear Proof of the Register's Inconsistence with his Testimony. *Sanders* could not be ignorant of so publick a thing as the Register Account. Your Answer therefore comes to this: That supposing the Register true, *Sanders* is in the wrong. We grant the Consequence, but deny the Thing you suppose, which is not thus to be prov'd, by supposing it true; while so clearly contradicted by an Author, whom you own to be well acquainted with the Transactions of his Times. Secondly, *Bramhall* tells us, That *Sanders* mistakes the Matter altogether, when he says, they were very instant with an *Irish* Archbishop to ordain them, because *they might have had seven Irish Archbishops and Bishops, if they had needed them.* Very pleasant again: For, besides that, *Bramhall* is much out, in affirming, that the old Bishops in *Ireland* complied with the pretended Reformation; even supposing some of them did so, it does not follow, that they did not endeavour to persuade the *Irish* Bishop in their Prisons, to get his Liberty by ordaining them. Our Adversaries grant, That Endeavours were us'd to have *Tonstal, Bourne, Poole, and Kitchen* to ordain them. They produce the Queen's Commissions to those Catholick Bishops. It seems then, that they did not count upon the pretended Number of *Irish* Bishops. Lastly, (for as to his pretending, that in the Parliament which confirm'd them Bishops, nothing was mov'd concerning the Validity of their Ordination, we shall speak to it hereafter) he answers, That at least, *Sanders* does not

not mention the *Nag's-head*. He does not indeed expressly in his History. But as we shall see *Heylin* afterwards N. 111. making him one of the Publishers of it, so we shall see he might well omit the Particulars upon good Reasons. But however, he plainly contradicts the *Lambeth* Account, and when he says, *Qualescunq; fuerint et quomodocunq; facti isti Pseudo episcopi*. He does not by these Words, as *Bramball* pretends, leave it doubtful, whether they were ordain'd at *Lambeth*, or no. For so publick an Ordination could not be doubtful; and then too, those very Words express, That they were made in such a Manner, as only made them *false Bishops*. And infine, whatever Doubt they leave as to other Particularities (which he thought not necessary, or not expedient to mention) yet they leave no Doubt, but that *Parker* was not ordain'd according to the Register. For he had already spoken of such Particulars, as are altogether inconsistent with the *Lambeth* Account, which if it had been notorious, there could be no Doubt, as to the Place, Persons, and Manner. If, after I had given several Instances of a Man's entering unjustly into an Estate, I should at Length say, *But howsoever he entred into it, he made a bad Use of it*; this could not be brought for a Proof of my doubting, whether he had the Estate by a publick legal Conveyance; and this is exactly what *Sanders* says. After having evidently affirm'd, they were not ordain'd by other Bishops, even according to their own Ordinal, he adds: *But howsoever they were made, they prov'd very sad Ones*.

59. Do Protestant Historians at least, say any thing of the *Lambeth* Consecration? Not a Word; Dr. *Champney*, chap. 14. has long since observ'd, That *Stow* in his *Chronicle*, notwithstanding his Care in other Particulars of less Moment, his Exactness in mentioning Cardinal *Poole's* Consecration, and the remarkable Ceremonies of it, his even relating the Consecration of other Bishops, and several other things of *Parker* himself, for whom he has a particular Regard; yet he no where takes the least Notice of his Consecration; he no where tells us where, when, by whom it was perform'd. I suppose, Mr. *Williams* did not design a Syllogism, but a *Burlesque*, when (pag. 82.) he makes us argue thus: *Stow* does not mention *Parker's* Consecration, but he does mention Cardinal *Poole's*: *ergo*. He should have added, unless some particular Reason can be given for *Stow's* Silence, it must be thought that he never knew of the *Lambeth* solemn Consecration, since it was too particular and important, not to be taken Notice of; whereas, if *Stow* takes no Notice of several other Consecrations, it is because there was nothing particularly remarkable in those. But what could be more remarkable than the solemn Consecration of Him, who was to be the Source of all their others? However, it is neither from his, nor from *Hollinshead's* Silence alone (tho' it must needs seem strange to any impartial Man, that they should be so silent, in so important an Occasion) but from positive Matters of Fact, that we can prove they were ignorant of the *Lambeth* Ordination. Thus *Hollingshed* speaking of Dr. *Tonstal*,

Tunstal, Bishop of *Durham*, says: " He was
 " by the noble Queen *Elizabeth*, depriv'd of
 " his Bishoprick, &c. and was committed to
 " *Matthew Parker*, Bishop of *Canterbury*, who
 " us'd him very honourably, both for the
 " Gravity, Learning and Age of the said
 " *Tunstal*. But he not long remaining un-
 " der the Ward of the said Bishop, did
 " shortly after, the *Eighteenth* of *November*,
 " depart this Life at *Lambeth*, where he first
 " receiv'd his Consecration." Upon these
 Words of *Hollingshed*, *Mr. Ward* observes (pag.
 61.) That here we see *Parker* was consecra-
 ted (such a Consecration as it was) before
 the *Eighteenth* of *November*, since he calls
 him absolutely *Bishop*, and places him at
Lambeth, which argues his being install'd in
 Possession of it, as Bishop, which could not
 be before Consecration, unless they install'd
 for Bishops such as were none. He there-
 fore supposes *Parker's* Consecration was be-
 fore the 17th of *December*, which is the Re-
 gister Date of it. And, upon this Place of
Hollingshed, it is farther observable, That *Wil-*
liams is much out in pretending (pag. 82.)
 to account for these Historians Silence of
Parker's Consecration, by telling us, That
civil Historians have little Regard to Consecra-
tions. For, *Stow* is very large upon the Con-
 secration, which immediately preceded *Par-*
ker's; and the Notice *Hollingshed* takes of *Ton-*
stall's Consecration, must have put him in
 Mind of *Parker's*, unless there was some par-
 ticular Reason to wave the Place and the
 Ceremony; and we shall give a strong Evi-
 dence

dence (N. 104.) that the *Nag's-head* was the Case.

60. An Instance from *Stow*, that *Parker* had a Sort of a Consecration before the 17th of *December* 1559, we have from what that *Chronologer* relates, of the solemn *Obsequies* perform'd by the *Queen's Order*, for *Henry II. of France*, in *St. Paul's* at *London*, on the 9th of *September*. Here, he tells us, That *Parker*, *Barlow*, and *Scory* officiated; That *Scory*, in Place of *Grindal*, *Bishop of London*, preach'd a *Sermon*. Whereupon *Mr. Ward* observes again (pag. 62.) That *Grindal* is call'd absolutely *Bishop*, three Months before the Register Date of *Parker's* Consecration. *Parker* here officiated as *Primat*, and before *Barlow* and *Scory*, who according to the *Lambeth Account*, were consecrated *Bishops*, and should consequently have taken Place of *Parker*, if not in other Occasions, yet surely in the Church Offices. Which Observations were in Effect, made long before by *Dr. Champney*, pag. 197. as also, That *Stow* expressly indeed, calls *Parker*, *Barlow*, and *Scory*, *Bishops Elect*, because they were not yet install'd in their Sees; whereas *Grindal*, being install'd in the See of *London*, is call'd *Bishop* absolutely, without the Word *Elect*, or any other Restriction. And as the *Sermon* is said, preach'd by *Scory*, in the Place of *Grindal*, *Bishop*, which imports, That of Right, it belong'd to *Grindal*, the *Bishop* of the Place, to do it; so perhaps, it was to wave this Difficulty, that *Heylin* omits the Circumstance of *Scory's* preaching in place of *Dr. Grindal*, *Bishop of London*. And one may farther take Notice,
from

from the *Memoirs of the House of Noailles*, That the *French Ambassador* writ to the *French Court* an Account of the Ceremony; and particularly, That “*The Office* was perform’d “ on *Saturday Morning*, which the *Archbishop* “ *celebrated* with the Supper after their *Man-* “ *ner*, where four of the aforefaid *Mourners* “ communicated with the said *Archbishop*, and “ two other *Ministers* in their *Church Ha-* *bits*.” In which words, we see the Rank which *Parker* had above those whom the Register makes his Consecrators, more than three Months after, and That at Court, he was already look’d upon as Bishop in due Form. We shall have Occasion hereafter to observe other Particulars, by which it will farther appear, That the *Lambeth Account* is inconsistent with these Historians, and to answer what may be objected, from theirs, of other Histories.

§. 6.

The Lambeth Account incredible, because ground-
edly rejected as such, when first it appear’d.

61. And when did it first appear? Is it not incredible, that this should be any Question, if that Account had the least Air of being Authentick? For, when should it have appear’d, but when the Fact was freshest; when the Disputes of Ordination were hottest; when *Harding* and *Stapleton*, and *Bristow*, &c. call’d for it; when *Jewel*, *Horn*, *Whitaker*, &c. might have dispatch’d a bold and troublesome Objection with these two Words,

Lambeth, and the *Register*? Where should so notorious a Fact be related, but by *Sanders*, to censure it; or by *Hollingshed*, and *Stow*, to applaud it? Yet in all these, much against, nothing for it, appears. When then did it appear? Some few Touches of it, like Flashes before a gathering Storm, were advanc'd by *Sutcliff*, *Butler* and *Godwin*. But we shall see they blunder'd strangely in their Parts. At length *Mason* produc'd the Register, almost in full Growth. When? *Anno Domini* 1513. That is above Fifty Years too late. Accordingly, instead of any Advantage to the *English* Orders, it brought upon them a new Prejudice. It seem'd clear, That numerous Deeds, large Heaps of Acts, voluminous Writings, whereof a very small Parcel would have finish'd the Cause at once, if produc'd in due time, must certainly be forg'd, since the Case had been so long discuss'd, and those Proofs were never alledg'd. This we find very prudently observ'd, and closely urg'd by *F. Thomas Fitzherbet*. His other Works, and particularly, his learned Treatise of *Policy and Religion*, shew how capable he was of observing the remarkable Passages of his own, as well as of past Times. His Birth, Learning, Prudence and Virtue, made him respected by the greatest Persons of all Ranks and all Persuasions. There is a singular Strength of Judgment and Candor, in what he urg'd upon the Appearance of the Register; and I will quote his Words upon it the more fully, both for the Weight they bear of themselves, and for the Consequences which follow'd upon the Instance of this great Man.

62. The very Year that *Mason* proclaim'd the Register, *F. Fitzherbert* had already sent a Book to the Press, call'd, the *Adjoinder to the Supplement*. Upon the Surprize of so great a Novelty as the Register, he sent an *Appendix* to be added to his Book, wherein he says, Pag. 486. " It was my Chance to understand — That one Mr. *Mason* endeavoureth to prove their Consecration by a *Register*, testifying, that four Bishops consecrated Mr. *Parker* — This our Exception touching the lawful Vocation and Consecration of the *first* Protestant Bishops in the late Queen's Days, is not a new Quarrel lately rais'd by us two only, I mean the Author of the *Preface to the Discussion*, and my self, but vehemently urged divers Times heretofore, by many other Catholicks many Years ago; yea, in the very beginning of the late Queen's Reign, as namely, to omit others, by the two learned Doctors *Harding* and *Stapleton* in their Books against Mr. *Jewel* and Mr. *Horn*, whom they pressed mightily with the Defect of due Vocation and Consecration, urging them to prove the same, and to shew how and by whom they were made Priests and Bishops — And what trow you, was answer'd thereto? Was there any *Bishop* named who Consecrated them? Were there any *Witnesses* alledged of their Consecration? Was Mr. *Mason's Register*, or any other *Authenticall* Proof thereof produc'd, either by Mr. *Jewel* or Mr. *Horn*? No truly. For, as for Mr. *Horn*, he never reply'd, or any Man for him, for ought I ever heard. And Mr. *Jewel*, though he took upon him to answer it; yet he did.

“ it so weakly and coldly, and ambiguously,
 “ that he sufficiently fortify’d and justify’d
 “ his Adversaries Objection — To the Que-
 “ stion *how* he was consecrated, or *by whom*,
 “ he answereth no otherwise than thus ; *our*
 “ *Bishops are made*, saith he, *in Form and*
 “ *Order, as they have been ever, by free Election*
 “ *of the Chapter, and by Consecration of the*
 “ *Archbishop and three other Bishops.* Wherein
 “ you see, he saith not, *I was made*, or, *we*
 “ *were made* by the Consecration of the Arch-
 “ bishop and three other Bishops, as he should
 “ have said, to answer directly to the Que-
 “ stion ; but, *our Bishops are made*, &c. de-
 “ claring directly and truly nothing else, but
 “ the Custom, that *then* was received and
 “ used amongst them, for the making of Bi-
 “ shops, which was not denied or doubted
 “ of by Dr. *Harding* : Neither was it any
 “ Thing at all to the purpose, because the
 “ same concerned not the Institution and Con-
 “ secration of Mr. *Jewel* himself, or the *first*
 “ pretended Bishops, and much less did it
 “ concern the Ordination and Consecration of
 “ their Archbishop, which, as Mr. *Jewel*
 “ could not but know, most imported to be
 “ declared. For, albeit it should be true,
 “ that the Archbishop and three others con-
 “ secrated Mr. *Jewel* himself and the rest ;
 “ yet if the said Archbishop, and the three
 “ others had themselves no Consecration, nei-
 “ ther they nor any other ordain’d by them
 “ were Bishops — I wish it well to be
 “ weigh’d, whether it be *probable*, that these
 “ two learned Men (Dr. *Harding* and Dr. *Sta-*
 “ *pleton*) would have objected to Mr. *Jewel*
 “ and

“ and Mr. *Horn* this *Defect* of their Consecration in *printed Books*, so *confidently* and
 “ so *resolutely* as they did, if they had not
 “ been *well assured* of it, especially, when
 “ their Consecration would have been so *fresh*
 “ in Memory, if they had been consecrated
 “ at all, that the Denyers of it might have
 “ been convinced of it by *multitudes of Witnesses* to their perpetual Shame. *Thirdly*,
 “ Let it be consider’d, whether Mr. *Jewel*
 “ being *expresly demanded* and *urged* to shew
 “ *who* consecrated him and his Fellows,
 “ would have answer’d so irresolutely, ambiguously, and *indirectly* as he did, if he
 “ could have proved their Consecration, either
 “ by *Witnesses* or *Registers*, or any other *Authentic* Proof; to which Purpose it is also
 “ to be noted, that he made no doubt at all
 “ to speak resolutely and clearly of his Election, because it was true and evident,
 “ that he was chosen by the Chapter of *Salisbury*, &c.

63. However strong a Presumption these Arguments might raise against the Register, *F. Fitzherbert* was too wise a Man to stop at a mere Presumption, where the Matter would bear a farther Trial. He therefore added, in the same *Appendix*, a Proposal, which, if refus’d, would doubtless convince the World of the Forgery. He insisted upon it, (and nothing could be more fair and candid, especially considering he at the same time, engag’d to procure any one, who should desire it, the Liberty of examining any Records at *Rome*, of such a publick Concernment) That the Register might be view’d and examin’d

by Catholicks. So publick an Accusation of Forgery from so celebrated a Person, and the Trial put upon so fair an Issue, made a great Noise. The Register must be forever blasted, if they refus'd to shew it. Dr. *Abbot*, who then possess'd the See of *Canterbury*, procur'd to have four Priests brought from different Prisons, where they were detain'd for their Religion, to *Lambeth*. There the voluminous Register was shew'd them, in the Presence of the nam'd Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and those of *London*, *Durham*, *Ely*, *Bath*, *Lincoln*, and *Rochester*. Were the Catholicks convinc'd that it was Authentick? Nothing less. F. *Juvency*, in his elegant *History of the Society*, lib. 13. N. 92. pag. 192. marks the very Day they were sent for, the 14th of *May* 1614. the Names of the Persons, viz. F. *Faircloth*, and F. *Lathwait*, Jesuites; and M. *Keak* and *Colliton*, both Secular Priests. He then adds, That F. *Lathwait* particularly answer'd, That he would not be positive till he had farther Leisure to examine the Register. “ *Negavit se quidquam certò pronunciare posse: Optimum videri ut narratio integra describeretur, et per otium examinaretur. Exscribendam promisit Cantuariensis. Gratias egere Patres, et in suum remissi sunt ergastulum. Diebus paucis interjectis petierunt ut narrationem describendam, quem admodum promiserat, curaret. Distulit semper in commodiorem, uti prædicabat, occasionem. Ac rursus illis haud semel flagitantibus, verba dedit.*” This Refusal, of either viewing the Register more at Leisure, or having an authentick

Copy

Copy of it, was writ to F. Fitzherbert, and convinc'd both him and the World, That their Suspensions were just. *Juvency* refers to the Original Letters for his Account: And hence it appears, That *Bramhall* had no Reason to say (chap. 4.) That *they perus'd the Register as much as they pleas'd, and gave this Sentence, That the Book was beyond Exception.* It appears farther, That *Bramhall* misrepresents the Matter, by adding, That it was ridiculous for them to desire to have the Records in Prison, since such Books are not to go out of the Presence of the Keeper. This they neither insisted upon, nor was it so hard a Matter to have the Prisoners brought again to *Lambeth*, under their own Keepers, or the imprison'd Register, with its Keeper, might at least have been view'd again by other Catholicks. To refuse this, or to boggle at it, is an Aspersions from which the Register can never be clear'd. To tell us with *Bramhall* again, That it may now be seen, is nothing to the Purpose. 'Tis too late: Difference of Characters, and other Circumstances cannot now be so well judg'd of, as they could have been so much nearer the Times. And yet we shall hereafter see, That even now, there are abundant Marks of Forgery to be seen in the Parcels of it, as they have be produc'd. Mr. *Williams*, I suppose, will need no Answer, in the Opinion of any prudent Reader, when he says, (chap. 7.) That the two *Jesuits* repented of their Conviction, and that their afterwards denying it, is a Case of Conscience to be reconcil'd by some Romish Casuist, who will tell you very gravely,
without

without blushing, That to tell a Lie to advance the Catholick Religion, alias, the Religion of Rome, is a Duty and no Sin. The Calumny is too glaring; and as such a Lye could not advance, but prejudice their Cause, so the Keepers of the Register could not prejudice their own Cause more remarkably, than by not calling other Catholicks, at least, to a full Examination of it, especially considering, That after F. Fitzherbert, Catholicks at that very time, still insisted upon the Accusation of its being forg'd, as is very evident, from Dr. Kellison, Champney, Protestant Demonstration, &c.

64. I have not by me the Nullity of the Protestant Clergy of England. But Mr. Ward (pag. 43.) relates from the Postscript of it, this remarkable Passage, with Regard to this Affair, in these Words: " Since the finishing of the Point, I have had Occasion to find out some Particulars — Mr. Abbot of Canterbury shew'd to F. Faircloth, certain Records (meaning the Lambeth Register.) But Mr. Plowden, yet living, does depose, That he had it from F. Faircloth's own Mouth, with whom he liv'd many Years an intimate Friend, this ensuing Answer of F. Faircloth's to Abbot. My Lord, said he, my Father was a Protestant, and kept a Shop in Cheapside, and assur'd me, That himself was present at Parker's, and the first Protestant Bishops Consecration at the Nag's-head in Cheapside, &c. This suppos'd, my Lord, I cannot but judge this is a forg'd Register." Mr. Williams (pag. 83.) answers this Passage by a Sleer. I suppose, says he, we shall have Affidavits of the Presence

sence of other Witnesses printed upon us e'er long. *The Testimonies of Rome are endless.* And I am sure they are convincing, if such Flirts as these are all the Answer. It can be no Wonder, That upon a farther Discussion of a Point, new *Facts* should be found; and this in particular, has such an Air of Candor, and is so well attested, That Mr. *Williams* must allow us to require a better Reply. But these, and the other Proofs of Forgery, will now appear stronger, by viewing some Parts of the Register.

§. 7.

Marks of Forgery in the pretended Records, recited by Le Courayer, relating to Parker.

65. *Le Courayer* has but three among his pretended Records relating to *Parker*, No. V. pag. 344. The first is call'd *Patents*, or a *Commission* from Q. *Elizabeth* for his Consecration, directed to *Cuthbert*, Bishop of *Durham*, *Gilbert*, Bishop of *Bath*, *David*, Bishop of *Peterborough*, *Anthony*, Bishop of *Landaff*, *William Barlow*, Bishop, and *John Scory*, Bishop. It is not indeed in the Register of *Lambeth*, but in the *Rolls*, as we are told. However, it is so nearly connected with the Register, That the Grounds of suspecting It, will strengthen the Suspicion of Forgery in That.

66. Mr. *Ward* has observ'd very well (p. 52.)
 “ If the Queen and her Council, had look'd
 “ upon *Barlow* and *Scory* for true Bishops,
 “ considering that *Landaff* (who they might
 “ suppose would comply, because he had
 “ own'd her Supremacy) was undoubtedly
 “ a

“ a Bishop; they needed not to have di-
 “ rected the Commission to any other, but
 “ to those three alone; for, this Number is
 “ sufficient in time of Necessity; or they
 “ might have added *Miles Coverdale* to them,
 “ if they had look’d upon him for a true
 “ Bishop; yea, or *Hodgskins* either, if there
 “ was such a Man. This, I say, one would
 “ think the Queen might in Prudence rather
 “ have done, than to have so unwarily, so
 “ unforefghtedly, and so very imprudently
 “ hazarded a shameful Denial. —

67. It is farther observable in this Com-
 mission, That *Barlow* and *Scory* are call’d
 Bishops without naming their Sees: These
 ought to have been nam’d, that it might
 appear, whether they were true and legal
 Bishops. Again, It may seem a strange In-
 congruity, to name Bishop *Tonstal* for one of
Parker’s Consecrators, while he was under
Parker’s Ward, or rather his Prisoner.

68. But whatever any one should please
 to think of this first Commission, being ge-
 nuine or forg’d, our Adversaries grant it was
 never executed. They present us with a se-
 cond, which yet is so far from mending,
 that it adds to the Flaws of the former. It
 begins thus: “ Regina, &c. Reverendis in
 “ Christo Patribus, *Antonio Landav*, Episcopo,
 “ *Willielmo Barlow* quondam *Bathon*. Episco-
 “ po, nunc *Cicest.* electo, *Johanni Scorye* quon-
 “ dam *Cicest.* nunc *Heresfordensi*, *Mil. Cover-*
 “ *dall* quondam *Exoniensi* episcopo, *Richardo*
 “ *Bedfordensi*, *Johanni Thetfordensi* episcopis Suf-
 “ fraganeis, *Johanni Bale Offorensi* episcopo, Sa-
 “ lutem.” Here we still find, the Forgers are re-
 solv’d, if possible, to have some one *Catholick* Bi-
 shop,

shop, at least to secure the Matter. Rather the poor old Bishop of *Landaff*, than none, tho' he had lost his Credit with both Sides, by his Conduct, and almost his Eyes at least, if not his other Senses, by Age and Weakness, and has the Character fix'd upon him by *Cambden*, of *the Calamity of his See*. I should think it very great Inhumanity to speak thus of any one, by the least Design of insulting him in his Misfortunes. It is only mention'd, to make the Reader more sensible that certainly, unless they had been conscious of some solid Doubt at least of the Orders of *Barlow* and the rest, they never would have been so earnest to have them from any Catholick, and less from Him. However, Want forces People to stoop. He is therefore in the first Place; Tho' according to all Custom and Right, *Barlow*, if he had been a true Bishop, ought to have had the Precedency, as *Dr. Champney*, pag. 193. observes, and after him *Mr. Ward*. pag. 20. where they both add these Words. " For
 " those Bishops, who have not Precedency by
 " Reason of their Sees (as *Landaff* has not)
 " have their Place and Rank, according to their
 " Antiquity in Consecration, which is always
 " necessarily observ'd in such publick and so-
 " lemn Acts, as is the Consecration of an Arch-
 " bishop, for avoiding that Scandal, which
 " would undoubtedly follow, by inverting
 " and confounding Mens Rank and Places.
 " And doubtless, if *Mr. Barlow* had known
 " himself as truly a Bishop, as he knew *Mr.*
 " *Kitchin* of *Landaff* to be, he would have
 " disdain'd to have been his Second in that
 Honourable

“Honourable Action, seeing he should (if “consecrated) have been much his *Senior Bishop*.” Mr. *Williams* (pag. 45.) calls this Precedency, a *Punctilio* of no Force, a *trifling* Argument, answer’d long since by *Mason*. He then adds, It is our Way never to take Notice of Answers, which have been made, but to urge our Arguments over and over again, with a *bold Air*, peculiar to themselves and their foreign Education. I hope such polite Strokes as these, are not the peculiar Marks of *English* Breeding. But what is *Mason’s* Answer? Only this, That *Landaff* was in actual Possession of his See, whereas *Barlow* was not yet in Possession of his. This, says *Mason*, appears by the Queen’s Patents, calling One, absolutely *Bishop*, the Other, only *Elect*. And here, says Mr. *Williams*, I must appeal to all Men of Sense, whether this is not a very natural Account of this Matter. I willingly join in the Appeal, having first observ’d, That *Mason* was not sure: For, he only says, *If I may conjecture*. And he did well to be cautious. For it is very clearly, but a sad Conjecture; since *Bale*, (who is last in the Commission, and is yet call’d absolutely *Bishop*) should, by this Account, have been next to *Landaff* at least. Besides, That it is not by actual Possession, but by Antiquity of Consecration, that Precedency should be given in Church-Offices, where no peculiar Prerogative of the See determines it otherwise.

69. The first Person therefore, in this Piece, is very inauspiciously chosen and plac’d. Let us take a short View of the rest. In the former

former Commission, neither that Bishoprick, which *Barlow* and *Scory* are pretended to have had, nor that to which they are nam'd, was mention'd. This second Commission, is resolv'd to make amends, and names both. But this Care, instead of mending, only makes the former Flaw more visible. And then, whereas *Stow* calls *Barlow* *Elect* of *Chester*, and seems to speak of two *Scories*, there might hence be a Difficulty about their Sees, as nam'd in this Commission. But more important Difficulties will occur hereafter, particularly of *Barlow*. Now in general, it is observable, That *Seven* Bishops nam'd for a Consecration, is very unusual; it is much over-doing the Matter: Four are the most, one generally meets with in such Commissions. But it is more observable, what a strange Pack of Men they are: To say no more of *Landaff*: *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Bale*, were Apostates from their Religious Orders, and Breakers of their solemn Vows: Unlikely Men to be chosen by Providence for Apostles, or for perpetuating the Episcopacy of a Godly Reformation. They were also very unlikely Men to be chosen for it by the Queen, (at least, not till she had try'd still longer to get some of a more plausible Character) both because it is well known she was, at that time, particularly averse to a married Clergy, especially to such as married after Religious Vows; and because they were Men whom she little esteem'd upon other Accounts, as appears by the Unwillingness she shew'd in promoting them. *Fuller*, in his *Worthies* (pag. 61. *Sussex*) speaking of *Bale*, says, "One may wonder

“ der, That being so learned a Man, who
 “ had done and suffer’d so much for Religi-
 “ on, higher Promotion was not forc’d upon
 “ him [than *Prebendary of Canterbury*] seeing
 “ about the Beginning of Q. *Elizabeth*, Bi-
 “ shopricks went about, begging able Men to
 “ receive them. But probably, he was a Man
 “ more learned than discreet.” And indeed,
Bale’s exorbitant Spleen, and other ill Qua-
 lities, have made him odious to the civiliz’d
 and learned World. And we may fairly sup-
 pose, That *Coverdale’s*, *Hodskins’s*, and the
 other *Suffragans*, being so little regarded, was
 on Account also of their Indiscretion, at least.
 It is very strange too, by the bye, That we
 should be told so much of the *Learned English*
Reformers of those Days, and yet, That Bi-
 shopricks went then a begging for such Men;
 for begging is a Sign of Scarcity and Indi-
 gence. Tho’ to speak the Truth, we can the
 less wonder, That the two *Suffragans* nam’d
 in this Commission, are not found promoted,
 because scarce any thing is known of them,
 but their Names. It is uncertain, whether
 there ever were any such Men. Even the
 Forgers of these Acts knew so little of them,
 that they make the Queen call him, *Richard*
of Bedford on the *Sixth of December*, whom
 three or four Days after, they call *John*.

70. With Regard to the little Account
 Queen *Elizabeth* did, or indeed could in any
 Reason make of these Commissioners, it will
 not be amiss to hear *Fuller* again in his *Wor-*
thies. (*Suffex*, pag. 103.) “ *Barlow* (says he,
 “ in his usual jingling and punning Style)
 “ a Man of much Motion and Promotion —
 flying

“ flying the Land in the Reign of Queen
 “ Mary, he became *Superintendant of the*
 “ *English Congregation at Embden.* Coming
 “ back into *England*, by Queen *Elizabeth* he
 “ was advanced Bishop of *Chichester*. It is a
 “ Riddle why he chose rather to enter into
 “ new first Fruits, and begin at *Chichester*,
 “ than return to *Bath*, a better Bishoprick.
 “ Some suggest that he was loth to go back to
 “ *Bath*, having formerly consented to the Ex-
 “ pilation of that Bishoprick, whilst others
 “ make his Consent to signify nothing, seeing
 “ *impower'd Sacrilege* is not so mannerly as
 “ to ask by your leave”. In these Words we
 have not only one, but many Riddles. *First*,
 It is a Riddle, That *impower'd Sacrilege*
 should be thought chosen by Heaven for a
 Godly Reformation. *Secondly*, That a meaner
 Bishoprick should be call'd a *Promotion*.
Thirdly, That he should be said to have
 chosen it for that Reason, which should ra-
 ther have induced him to go back to *Bath*
 to endeavour at making some amends for his
 former *Sacrilegious* Consent to the Expilation.
Fourthly, It is a Riddle, That his Choice of the
 meaner See, or his Consent at least to his
 Removal from *Bath*, should not be express'd
 in the Commission (in *Le Courayer*, Pag. 369.)
 for confirming him Bishop of *Chichester*, or
 in *Berkeley's* Confirmation for *Bath*. For the
 See of *Bath* could not be legally vacant by
 the Death of *Bourne* the Catholick Bishop,
 unless *Barlow's* Resignation of it were legally
 specified. His Resignation is indeed specified
 in an Act pretended to be pass'd in Queen
 Mary's Time: But as our Adversaries sup-
 I pose,

pose, that Resignation to have been unjustly extorted from him, it ought to have been declar'd so in Queen *Elizabeth's* Days, and He the rather be replaced in his former See, or promoted to a better, as one, who had suffer'd so much wrong for the new Cause, The Style of his Commission should have been at least, *quondam de facto, & etiamnum de Jure Bath, &c.* or in some such like Terms. *Sixthly*, It is a Riddle, That a *Superintendent*, and as truly a Presbyterian one, as ever was in his Principles, should have so little Conscience as to accept of being himself a Bishop, and of making others. And one cannot but make this same Remark upon *Coverdale* and *Bale*, who, as Protestants tell us, refused to be Bishops in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and must, if they acted by Principle, be supposed no less averse from ordaining others; and That in all honest and moral Prudence (says the Author of *Protest. Dem.* pag. 117. *they did not give that Order to any which themselves disclaim'd as Antichristian and Blasphemous.* For this was their Opinion of Episcopacy, as appears by the Words of *Bale*, cited *Ibid.* *The Names of Blasphemy against the Lord, and his Christ. What other else is Pope, Patriarch, Metropolitan, Primate, Archbishop, Diocesan, and such like, but very Names of Blasphemy?* Where *Bale* alledges for this Opinion *Parker's* pretended Consecrators, *Barlow* and *Coverdale*. Were these Men likely to be chosen for that Business, or if chosen, to trouble their Heads about doing it validly?

71. However improbable this Commission is, by so ill-favour'd and unlikely a Choice, and

and Placing of the Actors, it is still more improbable by it's other Contents. These Contents, except a strange Clause, of which we shall speak soon, are Word for Word the same, as in the first Commission; only the Forgers have taken the Precaution to make the Queen say, *quatenus vos, aut ad minus quatuor vestrum, &c.* This was done to lay in a *Salvo* for the Bishop of Landaff's refusing to act in the Consecration. But they have omitted a more necessary one. For by the Statute of 25 Hen. 8. It is a *Premunire* for any Bishops named to perform a Consecration, not to do it within *Twenty Days after they are so nominated.* Consequently, both Landaff, and the other Catholick Bishops, if the first Commission was a true one, were under that Penalty for not acting accordingly. Care therefore should have been taken to shew, That the first Commission was legally annull'd, and the Persons named secur'd from that *Premunire*; so that it appears to be a great Mistake, That the second Commission had not also This or the like Clause, *Whereas the Commission directed to CUTHBERT, &c. was for just Reasons recall'd and annull'd, &c.* And indeed, if there had been such a Commission as the first, it is incredible we should hear nothing of this Nature, or of the *Premunire* being laid hold of, against the Catholick Bishops upon so great a Provocation. Since when once we suppose the Queen had condescended to name them for so necessary a Function, she would be particularly incens'd at the Shame of so fatal a Refusal. Fatal, I say, because frustrated in her Desire and Demand of heir Concur-

tence in the Consecration of her new Primate (which she would never have demanded, if she had thought any of her Protestant Bishops could do it) she must be forc'd to use her Spiritual Supremacy, and dispense with *Barlow* and the rest, whether they were Bishops or not.

72. The Forgers seem sensible of this Consequence of the Necessity of her dispensing Sovereignty, and have accordingly put an astonishing, but a necessary Clause, as their Circumstances stood, into this second Commission. Such a Clause, as was never, I am sure, heard of in the World before. It is this, where they make the Queen say: “Sup-
 “plentes nihilominus Supremâ auctoritate
 “nostrâ Regiâ, ex mero motu ac certâ scien-
 “tiâ nostris, *si quid* aut in his quæ juxta
 “mandatum nostrum prædictum per vos *fient*,
 “aut in vobis, aut in vestrum aliquo, *con-*
 “*ditione, statu, facultate* vestris, ad præmissa
 “facienda *desit* aut *deerit* eorum, quæ per
 “*statuta* hujus regni, aut per *leges Ecclesia-*
 “*sticas* in hac parte requiruntur, aut *necef-*
 “*saria sunt* temporis ratione, & rerum *necef-*
 “*sitate*, id postulante”. It is not here the Place to examine the Absurdity of supposing such an extensive Spiritual Power in secular Hands, and the Hands of a Woman. But why at least would the Forgers add, That she used it *temporum ratione & rerum necessitate, id postulante*? They plainly import, That she could not think her Protestant Bishops had the necessary *Condition, State* and *Faculty*, and That she used her *Supremacy* in dispensing even with their want of Ordina-
 tion

tion in themselves, forced to this Dispensation by a *Necessity* arising from the Refusal of the Catholick Bishops, who alone had that unquestionable Power. In the first Commission there was no need of this Clause, there being Catholicks enough, who were unquestionable Bishops, independently of *Barlow's* or *Scory's* Concurrence. In the second Commission, only *Landaff* was unquestionably Bishop. They could not depend upon his acting, and he refused to do it. If mere legal Defects was all the Protestant Bishops wanted to be supplied, the like Clause would have been necessary in the first Commission. She dispenses with *any Thing* they do or shall do, with whatever they want in any kind of Power, that is necessary by Statutes or Canons. Those required them to ordain according to the new Ordinal. But if the Times obliged to do it otherwise, even in such a Manner as at the *Nag's-head*, here is a Dispensation for it.

73. This Clause, says *Le Courayer*, pag. 345. *has been made an Argument against the Validity of the English Ordinations; but the more learned Canonists of England have made no Difficulty of it.* But he does not tell us, they were Protestant Canonists: And we may very well ask this Question; *Has Le Courayer consider'd what he does in approving their Judgment?* In Effect, How can a Catholick, or indeed any one, approve of such an extensive Power over any Ecclesiastical Laws, in a Woman? Did the Canonists themselves consider what they did? They give it as their Judgment, That the *Queen may authorise the*
 I 3 *Persons*

Persons nam'd, to the Effect specified. We have seen, in later Days, *Impeachments*, and farther Consequences, of judging, That the Crown can *dispense with Statutes*. But indeed, I believe the Canonists here nam'd, were safe. For I am pretty sure, this Judgment of theirs is a forg'd Piece; not only because, it is without any *Date*, which is requisite in such Acts to make them Authentick, nor only because the Commission to which it relates, is forg'd; but also because *Bullingham* subscribes it in the last Place, tho' he was *Doctor of the Laws*, as well as *Yale* and the rest, who subscribed before, and was moreover *Archdeacon of Lincoln* and *Bishop Elect* of that See. And here I add, That *Heylin*, in his *Help to the English History*, pag. 119. expressly puts him Bishop in 1559. He therefore should not have been thus postpon'd in the pretended Subscription.

74. The last Piece of the Register, alledg'd by *Le Courayer*, with Regard to *Parker's* Consecration, he gives us pag. 347. He calls it *the Confirmation of Parker's Election by the consecrating Bishops*. Sure he counted much upon the Credulity of his Readers, to think they would swallow so gross a Forgery. It has no Date of Time or Place; two considerable Flaws. *Heylin* (whose Words you may see cited at large by *Williams*, pag. 94.) says, That the Confirmation of *Parker*, was perform'd in the Court of *Arches*, where were, *the Vicar General, the Dean of the Arches, the Proctors and Officers of the Court, whose Presence was requir'd at this Solemnity*. Since then, none of these Persons are nam'd in the Act,

Act, none subscribe or attest it, it cannot be look'd upon as Authentick. But, unless I am very much mistaken, I can perceive in it, besides these, other negative and positive Flaws. It says, for Instance: "*Nos ad infrascripta Commissarij, cum hac clausulâ, videlicet (unâ cum D D. Johan. Thetfordensi Suffraganeo, & Joh. Bale, Offerenfi Episcopo) et etiam hac clausulâ, &c.*" Now the Words, *unâ cum D D. &c.* neither are in the Commission literally as they stand in that Parenthesis of this Act, nor does it give the true Sense of the Commission. For, it being directed to *Landaff*, as well as to the Suffragan of *Thetford*, and to *Bale*, He ought therefore to have been nam'd with them: Some Reason ought also to have been given why these Three did not act. Again, He whom the Queen call'd *Richard*, they call *John of Bedford*. This ought to have been observ'd; such a Change of Names is enough to reject a Record, unless it be prov'd to have been legally made.

75. Again, The whole Tenour of the Act is strangely embarras'd with an Affectation of Formalities of Law; They infine, come to the Confirmation, in this strange Manner. "*Prædictam electionem — Supremâ autoritate dictæ Ser. D. N. Regina nobis in hac parte commissâ, confirmamus; supplentes ex supremâ autoritate regiâ, ex mero Principis motu, ac certâ scientiâ nobis delegatâ, quidquid in hac electione fuerit defectum, tum in his quæ juxta mandatum nobis creditum, a nobis factum et processum est, aut in nobis. aut aliquorum*

“nostrorum conditione, statu, facultate ad
 ‘hæc perficienda deest aut deerit, &c.”
 May I not here ask, *quænam hæc sunt portenta verborum?* For infine, What do they mean? All the Construction I can find, is this: *Supplentes quidquid defectum fuerit in his quæ — factum et processum est;* And in this I find no Sense: In the rest, I find that which is worse than Nonsense. They tell us, they consulted with Lawyers in this Affair; *de, et cum consilio jurisperitorum.* Lawyers may be dispensed from Elegancy, yet not from true Construction and Sense, in drawing up such Acts. But what Sort of Lawyers were they themselves, or those they consulted with? For, as the *French* Author of *A Letter of a Divine to his Friend*, says, pag 102. *What new Kind of Law is this? Who ever heard of a delegated Commissioner dispensing with himself, in all Things that render him personally incapable of the Commission which is given him?* In Effect, a *Delegate*, as such, has no Authority but what is given him by his Commission. And tho’ the Queen in her pretended Commission declares, That She herself supplies all their Incapacities, yet she does not give them a Power to dispense with themselves. But be this as it will, it is absurd enough, to hear them profess, That all the Authority they have, is *delegated* from the Queen, even in those Parts of their Function, which are properly Spiritual.

76. I have not yet done with this enormous Act. It is certainly of Moment, That if the Confirmation Act calls *Scory* Elect, the second Commission calls him, *nunc Herefordensi*, with

without adding *Electo*. This is a great Flaw, as well as making the Queen mistake *Richard* for *John* of *Bedford*. And it is still stranger to see the Forgers make another Flaw in mending this. For, That *Hodgskins*, who three Days before was call'd by the Queen, *Richard* and *Suffragan*, is now call'd in the Confirmation Act, *John* and *Bishop* of *Bedford*, absolutely three different times; without adding *Suffragan*. But we have seen the *Confirmers* had a Deal of Work on their Hands, to be dispatch'd in a very short Time, and in a Hurry of Business; why should we think it strange to meet with Flaws and Blunders? And yet in their Hurry, they perceiv'd it was odd, to have made the Queen say in her Commission, That the See of *Canterbury* was lately vacant. *Cum vacante nuper sede*, &c. The Death of Cardinal *Poole* was on the 17th of *November* 1558. It had therefore been vacant many Months. This might seem a little Time to her, who, as *Mr. Collier* observes, was thought unwilling to part with it out of her own Hands. To the Forgers of the Confirmation Act, it seem'd, I suppose, too long a Time to say, That *Canterbury* was lately vacant, and so they take the Liberty to correct the Queen's Commission again, and leave out the *Nuper*. 'Tis true, That in the only Edition I have now by me of *Bramball*, of the Year 1716, Printed by *Th. Bickerton*, the Word *Elect* is put to *Scory*, in the second Commission; and to *Bedford* is join'd *Suffragan*. How this happen'd I cannot tell, but sure I am, That if these Particulars stand thus in the *Folio* Edition

tion of *Bramball*, as they are represented in the *Librarian*, the Argument against the Record stands good; or if as in the *Octavo Edition*, then the Attestation, which the *Librarian* has pag. 354. cannot be just.

§. 8.

Marks of Forgery in other Pieces of the Register, omitted in the Librarian's Collection, and its Inconsistence with a remarkable Record.

77. At the End of *Bramball's Works* there are these remarkable Particulars from the Beginning of the Register. That it begins by way of Exordium, *Registrum Rdmi. — Parkeri in Archiepiscopum — primo die mensis Augusti, Anno Domini 1559, electi — 17 die ejusdem mensis Decembris consecrati, Antonio Huse Armigero tunc Registrario primario dicti Rdmi. Patris.* That the Publisher of *Bramball's Works* says, The whole Register is in fair large Letters, excepting these immediately following Lines, which are in a smaller Character: *Primo die mensis Junij Anno Domini 1560. prefatus Antonius Huse mortem obiit, cui Successit Johannes Incent, in Officio Registrariatus præd. Dictus Reverendissimus Matthæus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, xvii. die mensis Maij, Anno Domini 1575. in aurora apud Lambehith mortem obiit, et diem suum clausit extremum.* That after these Lines there follows in large Characters, like the rest of the Register, *Acta habita et facta in negotio Confirmationis — nono die mensis Decembris*

cembris Anno Domini MDLIX — in Ecclesia Parochiali Beata Mariæ de Archibus London. Ecclesiæ Metropolitanæ Cantuar. Jurisdictionis immediata. The Publisher of *Bramhall's* Works, not perceiving, That he prejudic'd his Cause, has observ'd, That the Scrivener, or Secretary, has writ twice in that Exordium of the Register, *Licestren.* instead of *Cicestren.* which is a Fault, that one cannot well attribute to a chief Registerer, but to some ignorant Copyer. And it seems to me no less a Piece of Ignorance, That in that same Exordium, *Barlow* is styl'd, *nuper Bathon.* and *Scory* is call'd *dudum* of *Chichester.* Whereas, by a Record in *Le Courayer*, pag. 365. *Barlow* was Bishop of *Bath* in 1547-8. long before *Scory* is pretended to have been Bishop of *Chichester.* It seems then, That the Forgers have strangely misunderstood, or misapply'd the Words, *dudum* and *nuper.*

78. A more urgent Remark is, That it seems evident from the Death of *Parker*, spoken of in the Beginning of the Register, That the Register it self was not writ till after his Death, and consequently, That the Act of his Consecration, which is originally taken from this Register, is of a later make. Was it for this Reason, That *Le Courayer* has suppress'd those Lines as cautiously as *Mason*, his Guide and Model? He has however, these Words from a Letter of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (pag. 38.) *You may depend upon it, That the whole Entry of the Acts of Matthew Parker's Consecration, with all the Instruments relating to it in my Registers, are written in the same Hand with the other Acts*
of

of what pass'd during his Archiepiscopat, and all at the same time they were done. If all is in the same Hand, it is evident, all Things were not writ at the same Time they were done. For, what is in the smaller Characters, concerning the Death of *Parker*, must have been writ Fifteen Years after the Act of his Consecration. Again, Since *Huse* was Registerer at his Consecration, and died the first of the following *June*, and was succeeded by *Incent*, it cannot be all in the same Hand of either of them. And if it was all writ by some under Officer, the chief Registerers ought to have legaliz'd and sign'd the Acts, or at least the principal Ones. Nor can one help judging by these Words, *Anton. Huse Arm. TUNC Registrario*, That he must have begun the Register, if it was authentickly made, and That if it is all of a Hand, it is only a mere Copy and Forgery.

79. Among other Pieces of the Register recited in *Bramball's Works*, it is very obvious to take notice of a Procuration of *Parker* to two of his Chaplains. It is one of those Pieces, which *Le Courayer* has omitted, because, according to him, it is not essential, or as he says, pag. 344. *not necessary for us*. And in Effect it is so far from being for him, That it is very much against him. *Parker* there says, — *dilectos nobis in Christo filios magistros Edwardum Leudes, &* (the other Name is in a Blank. Is it, That *Parker* or his Secretary did not know the Name of the Second of that Prelate's Chaplains and Domesticks?) *Sacellanos familiares, & Domesticos nostros, conjunctim & divisim nostros—procuratores—constituimus—& eorum utriq;* (ut

(*ut præfertur*) *per se divisim & in solidum potestatem, &c.* It regards both, and separately; Yet one only is named. *F. le Quien's* Observation is very natural, That the Register-maker, being ignorant at first who was Parker's other Chaplain, left a Blank for his Name, designing to put it in afterwards, when he found it out, as it often happens in other Occasions in Copying of Acts. But as this will not do in an Authentick Piece (however it may pass in a Copy, or in the Draught of a Project or Scheme of an Instrument) so the Date of this Piece is a strange Flaw. It is dated the 2 January 1559. Old Style. *Secundum computationem Ecclesie Anglicane in Manerio nostro in Lambeth Winton. Dioc.* And would an Archbishop of Canterbury, already consecrated, speaking of his Palace, which every one knows is exempt from the Jurisdiction of Winchester, say, That his Palace is of Winchester Diocese? Would he not say, as in the Act mention'd above (n. 77.) That it is *Jurisdictionis immediata*? What can this be, but the Blunder of an ignorant Forger? And let me ask another Question; What can the Librarian mean by taking no Notice of so obvious, so important Flaws?

80. There will be farther Reason to ask the like Question by the following Observations upon a Record. Th Record is that cited even by the Librarian, pag. 46. from Rymer, T. 15. pag. 546. It is a Commission to tender the Oath of Supremacy to Archbishops, Bishops, &c. of the Eighteen Persons to whom it is address'd, Parker, Grindal and Cox are the three first. In what Quality?

lity? Under what Title and Character? As Bishops. What sort of Bishops? as *Elect*? No; absolutely *Episcopis*. It is dated the 20th of *October* 1559. That is, about two Months before the Register will let them be consecrated. If they were only *Elect*, would the Queen in so solemn an Act, call them *Bishops* absolutely, without Restriction, naming their Sees, and before the Chief Officers of the Court, and That Four different Times in the same Commission? The very Nature of the Commission supposes them Bishops. For, both Law and Decency requir'd, That the Oath should be tender'd to Bishops by some one, at least, who was himself a consecrated Bishop. The very Act says, *Et ideo vobis Et quatuor vestrum, quorum vos præfatos Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, Episcopum Londoniensem, & Episcopum Elyensem unum esse volumus, mandamus quod sacramentum prædictum de omnibus Et singulis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis—Et de quolibet etiam recipiatis. Teste Regina. apud Westmonasterium, 20 Die Octobris.* And as they were to be themselves Bishops before they could tender the Oath, so we have *Bramhall* cited for it, even by the *Librarian*, pag. 55. That the King never receives Homage for the Bishoprick till after Consecration; we have the *Librarian* himself telling us there, That the Bishop cannot perform his ordinary Jurisdiction, but as he is a consecrated Bishop; we have him telling us again, pag. 57. That they do not take the Name of Bishops without Restriction, but simply, that of *Elect*, both when they subscribe and when summons are sent

sent to them, till they are consecrated. Since therefore they are in this Record so often, and on so particular an Account, call'd absolutely Bishops (*Reverendi, Reverendissimi, Presules, Archiepiscopus, Episcopi*) without Restriction, and take place accordingly, they certainly pass'd, at least, at Court, for consecrated Prelates. Not by the *Lambeth* Consecration in *December*; That comes too late. Where then but at the *Nag's-head* in *September*? Since then, this Commission was seen and examin'd by *Le Courayer*, why did he dissemble the Difficulty?

81. Possibly it will be here objected, That when we think Records favour us, we allow them to be Authentick, and cry out upon Forgery when they are against us, and may be ask'd in our Turns; Where is the Equity of this Proceeding? The Question is easily answer'd. Where Records, whether in *Rymer*, or in *Registers*, are inconsistent, some of them must be forg'd. We don't reject any, merely because they seem against us, or because they are found at *Lambeth*; nor admit them because in *Rymer* or elsewhere, and favour us; but because we find them consistent with Times, Persons, and other Circumstances. We know, That in *Rymer's*, as well as in *Mabillon's*, or other Collections, there are true and false Pieces. If the Record last mention'd can be prov'd forged, we shall readily give it up. But yet it will still leave us this Argument, That there have been Forgeries relating to the Episcopacy of *Parker* and others, and we shall therefore have a Right to examine others according to the Rules of Criticism, without

without any Reason to accuse us of destroying all historical Faith and Credit. And here it is important to observe, That if Mr. *Re-naudot*, or F. *Hardouin*, or others, seem to think some Records genuine, which others accuse of Forgery, this can be no just Prejudice to our Cause. A Criminal may be indicted upon several Heads. If he is acquitted, or not prosecuted upon some of them, still if others are prov'd, he will be justly condemn'd. And this will be the Case of the Register with all impartial Judges, who shall consider the Proofs already alledged, and those which will occur to be added in the Course of these Remarks, and in answering the Arguments in Favour of it.

82. Among other Proofs against the Register, I must not omit That observ'd from the first Appearance of it, by Dr. *Champney*, at the End of his Thirteenth Chap. and *Protest. Demonstr.* pag. 112. viz. That *Butler* Names a Suffragan of *Dover*, and *Sutcliffe* says, two Suffragans were *Parker's* Consecrators, and appeals to the Register. Whereupon I observe, That *Sutcliffe's Reply to Kellison*, and *Butler's* Book being publish'd a few Years before *Mason's* Book, it seems the Affairs of the Register were not as yet well agreed upon. The same appears from the first Edition of *Godwin de Præsulibus*, where he differs often from the Register in the Days and Months, and Years of several of the new Bishops Consecrations. *Bramball* owns these Differences in these Authors; and Answers, *First*, They are *Errata of the Pen and Press*, and that to keep a Bawling about such Errata, is like the Barking

Barking of little Curs; which trouble the whole Vicinage, about the Moon shining in the Water. But notwithstanding the smart Comparison, one cannot but think it strange, how a Printer should mistake *Bedford* for *Dover*, *John* for *Richard*, *January* for *March*, &c. It is strange too, That so many and so considerable *Errata* should unluckily happen in the same Subject. And when he answers, *Secondly*, That *they are innocent Mistakes without a Plot*, still it is true; That if they are without Plot, they are also without Truth: Consequently, neither *Butler*; *Sutcliffe* nor *Godwin* must be cited for a Proof of the Registers compleat Existence before *Mason's* Edition. And when *Bramhall* adds, whether *Parker* was consecrated by two Suffragans, or only by one, or whether this one, was *John*, or *Richard*, or of *Bedford*, or *Dover*, it makes Nothing to the Validity of his Consecration; he says very true. But if it makes Nothing to that Validity, it makes very much against Their being good Authorities for the Credit of the Registers Existence, at That Time in its full Posture. When therefore, he says, *Thirdly*, They corrected these *Errata* afterwards, and That it is inhuman to charge a Man with a Fault he has mended; Still this Amendment proves, That what they writ before, can be no good Authority to prove the full Existence of the Register. After they had Time to adjust their Matters a little better, no wonder they made a better Agreement with *Mason's* Account. Schemes and Projects of a Register may have been fram'd when They first writ: But they were too hasty. The whole System

was not finish'd. Even to this Day it wants a deal of polishing.

§. 9.

F. le Courayer's weak Defence of the Lambeth Account, makes it still more incredible.

83. If there were strong, and even in Appearance, Proofs not easily to be answer'd directly, of the *Lambeth Account*, still this would not be sufficient, unless our Adversaries could refute all our Arguments against it, to a Degree of Evidence. For then, opposite Arguments, like clashing Witnesses, would leave the Case still doubtful. And Doubts would oblige them to seek for securer Ordination. But if we find our Adversaries Proofs of the *Lambeth Account* are weak, and their Reply to our Arguments against it are also very weak, it must then be thought almost evidently incredible. Especially, if the greatest Defender of it, is a Man of Wit and Industry, very able to give a Matter the most plausible Appearance, and supplied with the greatest Helps from an Ingenious Nation, the most interested in the Cause. Let us then see what the *Librarian* says upon it. I have hitherto designedly mention'd as little as I well could of what he says in Favour of the *Lambeth Account* and Register; That, as I was at first engaged in remarking upon him Chapter by Chapter, so in this Method, his Arguments and Answers might appear more directly in the united View. And I am sorry, That I am forced to premise, That he enters upon the

the Narrative Part, in a Way, which gives us a very slender Prospect of Candor. "*Mason* *threw Parker*, says he, (pag. 27.) had very "reputably fill'd several Stations in the Reign "of *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* but being despoiled of all his Dignities in the "Time of *Queen Mary*, he led a private "Life". I suppose it was with a View of giving his Reader a favourable Idea of the new Clergy (he has thought fit to maintain) That he represents *Parker* (the Source of it) as one of a reputable Character. But without entring into the *scornfull Comments*, which *Mason* owns were made upon him, the Librarian ought at least to acquaint his Reader, That *Parker* had unfortunately engaged himself in Heresies against the *Faith*, and *Marriage* against the *Canons* of the Church. And then, it had been well if he had, with as much Candor at least, as *Mr. Collier*, observ'd, That those *Canons* being then in Force against the Sacrilegious Marriages of Priests, *Parker* was very justly deprived of his Dignities by *Queen Mary*; or did he perhaps think it enough to say, That *Queen Elizabeth* thought *Parker* a fit Person to further her Designs? I know not, at least, what he means by saying she *hasten'd* a *Congé d'elire* for him on the 18th of *July 1559*. This was after she had for eight or nine Months been modelling a new Religion without Bishops. And, as it was five Months more, by the Register, before he was consecrated, so *Mr. Collier* would have told him again, That she was not in *haste* to part either with the *Tem-*

poralities or Spiritualities of the See of Canterbury in particular.

84. The *Librarian* owns, but I know not what he means by saying, the Queen's first Commission *was never executed, for what Reason we do not know.* It is well known to all others, That Catholicks refused to consecrate *Parker.* Even the *Librarian* is ashamed not to own it, tho' he does it with a very ill Grace. *There is, indeed,* says he, *some Reason to believe, That some of these Bishops remaining Catholick, refused to take their Parts in this Consecration.* Here he tells us, there is *some Reason,* when in Reality there is not the least Reason to doubt of this Part; and all the Reason in the World not to believe what he adds, That the Space between the first and second Commission *was employ'd in finding out other Bishops to substitute in their Room.* That Space was *three Months.* Much more Time than could be requisite to find out, That such Time-serving Men, as *Scory, Coverdale, &c.* would consecrate whomsoever the Queen pleased. And the longer the Queen was in endeavouring to have Catholicks, or resolving to commission those others, the more certain it is, there were just Doubts at least of their Episcopacy. Needless otherwise, very needless would it have been for the Queen, and Them to make so long a Demur upon their Capacity, and so earnest Endeavours to have Catholick Ordainers. It is well, however, That the *Librarian* is better advised, than to attribute the Delay of *Parker's* Ordination, to his humble Reluctance of accepting the Dignity. *Burnet* gives This
for

for a Reason of the Delay. Tho' at the same Time, one may fairly infer from his History, That it was for other less commendable Reasons for it, than his Humility; and having accepted the Election, his humble Reluctance cannot have been the Cause of the delay from that Time till *December 17*.

85. To remark thus upon all the wrong Steps of the *Librarian*, would be the Work of large Volumes. For he has scarce a Page without many such. To come nearer to what he urges in Proof of the *Lambeth Account*: What he says, That the Act of Confirmation and the Record of *Parker's* Consecration are to be met with in *Bramhall* and *Burnet's* Works, is Nothing to the Purpose. They writ long after *Mason*, and we own the Register was Then in being. The Question is, who, of all Writers of either side, speak of the *Lambeth* Consecration as a notorious Fact, within half an Age of the Time. He tells us, indeed, pag. 28. That the *Life of Matthew Parker* has *several Fragments* of the Confirmation Act. It had been more to his Purpose to have answer'd some at least, of the Flaws, which appear so visibly in that Act; and where is the Candor of taking no Notice, That the Register speaks of *Parker's* Death, which could not (without Prophecy, to which they have no Pretence) be writ, till above *Fifteen* Years after the pretended Consecration. We shall speak by and by to that *Life of Parker*. He appeals to *Rymer's* Collections. *The whole Account*, says he, agrees with the publick Records in *Rymer*. On the contrary, we have seen the publick Records, in *Rymer*, speak

Parker Bishop, before the 17th of December; and as to those Records, which Rymer himself has out of the Register, they have no farther Authority by being in his Collection, which is known to contain a great many false ones. But, it is, doubtless, continues the Librarian, from these Registers, That Cambden, a contemporary Author, and one of the most exact and judicious Writers, which England has produced, drew the Account, which he has given of this Ordination, entirely conformable to that which we have now publish'd. Whom he here calls Contemporary, he afterwards (p. 72.) growing, I hope more fair, calls almost Contemporary. The Truth is, Cambden must rather be counted a Contemporary of Mason, than of Parker's Ordination. His Life of Queen Elizabeth, in which he speaks of it, was first printed Anno 1615. That is, two Years after Mason's Book. The Copy I have consulted is, *ex dono Authoris*. How little exact Cambden is in these Things, appears from these Words, *In Episcoporum demortuorum & profugorum loca suspecti fuerunt, &c.* pag. 38. He should rather have said *depositorum*, for scarce any had Then retired or fled. They were most of them too safely confin'd. F. Le Quien (pag. 420) shews how unfairly he has represented Queen Elizabeth's Usage of the Catholick Bishops. He had observ'd just before, That the Author of the Nullity of the Prelatike Clergy of England says, he is certain, That Cambden omitted several Things in that Part of his History, not to displease some People: And I have been assured by a very erudite German. That he resolved to leave his

his second Part of it to be printed abroad after his Death, That it might be more sincere. This at least is evident from the very Place cited by the *Librarian*, That it is on the contrary *doubtless*, That *Cambden* did not write from the Register. For he here says, That *Parker* was consecrated *after* the Communion; the Register *before* it. And even supposing he had cited the Register (which he does not) his Authority comes after *Mason*, and consequently much too late.

86. " All this, continues the *Librarian* pag. 30, agrees perfectly with the *Journal* of the *Life of Parker*, which was found after his Death among his Papers, and which Mr. *Strype* has printed among the Records annex'd to his History; in which there are these remarkable Words: December the 17th I was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, Alas! Alas! O Lord God, for what Times hast thou preserv'd me. &c. Nor do we find that such positive Testimonies can be confronted by any solid Proofs, or by any Record, that contradicts." Instead of saying here with Mr. *Williams* I suppose we shall have new Affidavits printed upon us ere long, I may at least affirm, That this is a very weak one. First, Because it comes from Mr. *Strype*, who we shall see (N. 126.) cannot be depended upon. Secondly, It is from *Parker* in his own Cause, who never durst affirm so much in his Life-time, tho' often provok'd to prove his Consecration. One may therefore very reasonably suspect, That like a late Historian of his own Times, who had a Mind to publish such Things

as he durst not, with all his Confidence, affirm when living, so *Parker*, has put a wrong Date to his Consecration, if after all, he writ that Journal, which does not sufficiently yet appear. And indeed, one may well imagine he should, in his serious Thoughts, cry out, a thousand Times, *Alas!* Considering the Times, and his unfortunate Engagements in serving them. But it is incredible, if his Journal be any thing large and sincere, That we should hear no more Testimonies from it of his own Consecration, and his consecrating others. What? Nothing but that one Scrap of so many Things relating to these Consecrations? What can look more like a Contrivance to support future Claims to a Consecration, which at the Time it self, no one durst affirm? Be it as it will, this is certain, That all impartial Judges must think it more probable, that a false Date should be foisted into a Posthumous pretended Journal, than that wise Men should to his Face, upbraid him with Want of such a Consecration, and neither He, nor any one for him, appeal to the Register, or rather to the Notoriousness of the Fact. In a Word, What can such a Scrap as this, weigh in Counter-balance to so many Testimonies as we have, and shall yet produce? Indeed, as the *Librarian* has huddled over our Proofs, as he has scarce touch'd upon any of the Flaws we have observ'd in the Register it self, nor on the Record, which makes *Parker* Bishop in *October*, it could not be wonder'd, if we had entirely overlook'd that petty Slip of an uncertain pretended Journal of the Man himself, who never ventur'd to speak in his

Defence

Defence while alive, nor any one for him, by any Particulars from the Register, or from publick Notoriety of his Consecration,

87. And now, is the *Librarian* himself in Earnest, when he says pag. 36, *I doubt very much whether this Objection* (of the Record so long unproduc'd) *be serious, because in short, was it ever the Custom to publish all the Proceedings in Ceremonies of this Kind?* Yes, Sir, it always was the Custom to publish them when demanded; or rather, they publish themselves sufficiently by their publick Notoriety. It is still stranger, to hear him tell us, *If the Fable of the Nag's-head had been more ancient than it is, we should have had the Record sooner publish'd to destroy it.* What? Because a particular Account, which might be fatal to the Witnesses, was not publish'd, therefore a Record, which might with the greatest Security be alledg'd, must not forthwith, be produc'd! *But when the Method of this Proceeding was known, what Need was there to publish an Account of it?* The very same Need, as there would be now to publish an Account of the present Possessor of *Canterbury's* Consecration, if it were denied. It cannot indeed, be denied by any Man in his Wits, because notoriously publick: Much less could *Parker's*, which must have been more remarkable. In vain does the *Librarian* add, *How many Records are thus shut up, which are no less authentick for that Reason?* It is not precisely the being shut up, but the being so, when call'd for long and very loudly, that shews there were none yet fit to appear. Half a Century was to pass, That
Witnesses

Witnesses might die, and Particulars be embroil'd by Degrees, before it appear'd. In vain he asks, *Was it ever refus'd to be shewn to them, who wanted Information?* Yes: Catholicks call'd above Fifty Years for Information; still it was never shewn; when at length shewn, a farther Examination was refus'd.

88. But, he tells us pag. 36, *This Record was cited in Parker's own Time*; and he cites for it, *The Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, publish'd at London in 1572. before the Death of Parker: We are told farther, That there is this Note in the Margin, *Hæ Consecrationes et Confirmationes in Registris* apparent. Here, First, I desire it may be noted, That the Librarian could not be ignorant, That this Authority is liable to many Exceptions. Ought not a candid Author to have taken some Notice of them? Secondly, That very marginal Note is apparently a studied Affectation, which points out a Juggle. For, speaking of a publick Consecration, fresh in the Memory of all the World, whoever thinks of an impertinent marginal Note, that it is to be seen in the Registers? And why Registers? Were there more than one? *When the Method of the Proceeding was known, what Need was there* (as we have just now been told) *to publish an Account of it?* Above all, a marginal Note of Registers is very needless, very blundering. Thirdly, That Book of the *Antiquit. Brit.* is by Bramhall and others attributed to Parker himself. I know not why they are so fond of having Him the Author of it. Granting it to have some Erudition,
yet

yet there are numberless Mistakes in it. *F. Hardouin* pag. 139. quotes an Author from *Wharton*, who has charg'd it with above an Hundred Falsities. The whole Book is full of Gall, and such miserably vile Aspersions and Forgeries, That it is an eternal Shame to any Man of Moderation. Such is the Book which *Mr. Williams* is pleas'd to call *Parker's excellent Book*. The *Librarian* was more cautious than to attribute it to Him, or, as others do, to his Secretary. Possibly he saw it was absurd, to make either of them ignorant, who it was, ordain'd *Parker*, and call him *Richard* instead of *John* (as the Author does) while actually citing the Record. *Fourthly*, The *Treatise of the Nature of Catholick Faith and Heresy*, pag. 13, quotes an Author, expressly declaring, That, in the old Manuscript of that Book, which I have seen and diligently examin'd, there is not any Mention or Memory at all, of any such Register or Consecration — and any Man reading the printed Book, will manifestly see, it is a foisted and inserted thing, having no Connection, Correspondence, or Affinity with that, which goeth before or followeth it. This is so very plain, That I know not how *Bramhall*, pag. 87. can pretend to persuade us, That never any thing was more fitly inserted, than that Leaf wherein the Arms, Names and Consecrations of the new Bishops are set down. It appears inserted after the printing of the Book, because the Cyphers of the Pages are the same, as those of the foregoing Page, as is done when a Leaf is inserted. I add, That if the Author had himself given that Table of the new Bishops, then sitting all over
England

England, he would certainly have spoken of it, and of his Reasons for it; whereas there is not a Word of any such Thing. Nay, we have here two Leaves inserted. For in the next Leaf, which has also the same Cypher, (37.) there is a Table of Bishops, in which *Parker* is nam'd, as consecrated on the 17th of *December*. But it is plain, that Table was not made by him. It is observable too, That in the Print of the Arms, *Parker's* stands in the Middle, much larger than the rest, at which there hangs a *Label*, with the Year 1572. A pretty Contrivance to make one think, the Stamp of it was first drawn in that Year. The Plate was sent, we must suppose, to *Hanau*, to grace that *German* Edition, which is dated, *Typis Wecheliani, Han-novia. Anno. 1605.* For, I cannot but think, That whoever has been curious enough to observe the Nature of the Stamp and Character, will conclude, That Stamp came from an *English*, and not from a *German* Press. I would desire the Curious to observe also, That *Chenie's* Consecration, for Example, is not dated (as if the Register was not yet finish'd) and to tell us the Reason of this, as also why *Bullingham* is there styl'd not *Presb. sac.* as most of the rest, but *Min. sac.* It is absurd, to have this mean *Minister secularis*. And if it means, That he was not Presbyter, but in lesser Orders only, how came he to be Chaplain, and officiate at *Parker's* Consecration, and when was he made Priest? *Fifthly*. It is observable too, That pag. 40. of the *Hanau* Edition, there is a Table with this Title, *Nomina Episcoporum Britanniae descrip-torum*

torum in hoc libro. In which there is *Crā-*
mer, and then *Card. Pool*, and the Pages are
 mark'd, wherein they are spoken of. But no
 Page is mark'd wherein *Parker* is spoken of, be-
 cause no Life of his, is in that Book. The Title
 of the *Hanan* Edition, is, *Historia antebac*
non nisi semel edita, nimirum Londini in edi-
bus Johannis Day, Anno 1572. nunc vero pub-
lici boni ergo recognita et recusa. And now
 is it credible, That a second and revised
 Edition, would leave out so considerable a
 Piece as *Parker's Life*, if it had been in the
 first Edition? One cannot but think, That
 the *London* Edition is only pretended, or an-
 ti-dated. Our Adversaries grant, there were
 very few Copies of it. *Mr. Stephens*, pag. 7.
 says, It is such a Rarity, That a Bookseller
 told him, he would give Five Pounds for it.
 It is certain, (as far as I could ever find)
 That it was never cited by any, either Pro-
 testant or Catholick, for Forty Years; and cer-
 tainly it must seem strange, That of so very
 large and so remarkable a Book, there should
 be so few Copies and no Citations, for so long
 a Time. Whoever pleases, may see more of
 this *Life of Parker* in *F. Le Quien*, Chap. 8.
 §. 5. and in the *Additions* to his first *Tome*.
 It is so evident, That there is Juggling and
 Forgery in the Date of that Life, That I
 should think it needless, to multiply the Proofs
 of its being rather a Prejudice, than a Help
 to the Protestant Cause; and a new Instance
 of Un sincerity in its Maintainers.

§. 10.
*Farther Instances of F. Le Courayer's weak
 Defence of the Lambeth Account.*

89. Not to repeat what I said above of those Catholicks, who upon *Fitzherbert's* Challenge, were call'd from their Prisons to view the Register, we may however affirm from thence, That it is equally weak and unfair, to pretend *Godwin's* Relation of it, will put the Matter (of the Authentickness of the Register) out of Dispute. Would not any one suppose by this confident Expression of the *Librarian*, pag. 37. That those Prisoners were convinc'd it was Genuine? He adds: They insisted upon the Refusal of having it put into their Hands in Prison, to colour their Charge of Forgery. We have seen they did not insist upon That, but upon a farther Examination. And tho' it is true, That such Books ought not, without due Precaution, to be put in the Hands of *Enemies* (as the *Librarian* is pleas'd to call those Priests) they might however have been put into their Hands, even in Prison (if it was too great a Favour to carry them again to *Lambeth*) with sufficient Care of hindring them from damaging so choice a Book, and yet with Liberty enough to examine it thoroughly. *The Inspection and Examination of the Register*, he tells us, was always permitted without the least Difficulty, when nothing of This Nature was to be apprehended. What does he mean? Does he think those *Jesuites*, who were suffering for Religion, could be justly suspected of

a Design against the known Truth? He should leave such Strokes to those violent Protestants, who can be pleas'd with Mr. Williams's saying in the very Titles of the Contents of his Book, That Those Fathers *prevaricate, it is natural for them so to do.* And as to his adding, That he can affirm from his own Experience, That the Examination of the Register is permitted to *fair Enquirers*, I wish he would procure us that Favour. For, to be plain; the two Catholick Witnesses to whom he procured the fight of it, seem disposed to be much too easily satisfied. Otherwise they should have been particular as to Sameness of the Hand, the blotting out *Richard*, and putting in *John*, which is own'd by *Bramhall*, the Appearances of it's being the same Book which was produced in *Abbot's* Time, the Appearances too of the Paper, Ink, Character, Orthography, Method, Arrangement of the Pieces, Cyphering of the Leaves, and other such Particulars of judging whether it is likely to have been writ in *Parker's* Time. They should even have observ'd when *Lambeth* began to be plain *Lambeth*; when other Hands began to appear after the Fifteen Years Acts had been All in One Hand; when That Hand, which for so long a Time had never ceased by Sickness, Business, or other Reason, left off his constant Pen, ought to have been noted; and many other Things which an accurate Observer would remark fully, before he would give an Attestation. Whereas (without any of the like Remarks, or any Notice of the Variations between the pretended *Cambridge*, and That *Lambeth* Original, &c.) What does their Certificate say? Only

Only in general, That as to the Records of *Parker's* Consecration in *Bramhall's* Works; they have found them very conformable to the Original, which is preserved in the Archives of the Archiepiscopal Palace at Lambeth, March 15. 1721-2. I mark this Date, That you may see the Librarian's Performance has been the Project of Years, as well as concerted with Numbers. As to the Certificate it self, was it worth a *Sorbonist's* Journey to London, or *Le Courayer's* troubling Dr. Wake, or his lodging the insignificant Piece in the King of France's Library? Not in the least. For who Questions but *Bramhall* may have had Liberty to copy some Pieces of the *Lambeth* Register? The Question is, whether the Register it self is Genuine. And this Certificate does not clear that Point; but leaves it just where it was, or rather adds to the Suspicions, by being so lame a Testimony, so imperfect, so little fitted to the Purpose.

90. To the following Testimony of Dr. Wake, I have already spoken N. 78. and indeed, it must appear to any one at first sight, as much too large, as That just mention'd, is too short. The Respect due to that Dignity, which the Government has given him, demands, That we should hope he is a Man of too much Honour to refuse a fair Review of the Register, to clear the Doubts which still remain, and even encrease by telling us all the Acts of *Parker's* Time, are in one and the same Hand, tho' the Registers were different. But to say no more of his Lordships Letter, than, That if all are in one Hand, they must rather be Copies than

than Originals, the *Librarian* proceeds to prove, That the sole Guardians of these Monuments did not forge them; and urges again, pag. 39. That the Register agrees with the publick Records in *Rymer*. Now where there is a *Harmony so perfect*, what *Appearance is there of Forgery*? I answer, they neither agree with *Rymer's* Collection, nor with themselves, as has been proved. Half a Century was Time enough to contrive a much more tolerable Agreement between Records then extant, and others which were to be framed in a convenient Manner, and produced at a convenient Time, to answer some troublesome Objections. They could not be answer'd at first: Yet it was thought, better late, than never. And a very Bungler he must be, who pretends to frame or alter a Register, without taking care to agree in several Points with publick Records. If at this Day one had a mind to frame a Register wherein the Consecration should be clearly invalid, it would be very easy to avoid clashing with acknowledged Records.

91. But, says *Le Courayer*, how can endless Uncertainty be avoided in History, if without any Proof, without any Foundation, the slightest Suspicions, and the most unreasonable Prejudices shall suffice to discredit Records, which the publick Faith has render'd Sacred? If he had fairly proposed and fully confuted our Proofs, This Question might have been tolerable. To ask it while he has hardly touched upon them, is very unaccountable. Can he believe, That all Catholics are so abandon'd as to maintain this important Debate, upon such unreasonable Pre-

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judices?

judites? Forging Registers, especially of this Nature, is, I own, a great Crime. But great Interests attended it, and it was by Men who had all Opportunities to do it. The Pieces are many, but many were the Years to frame them; and the more numerous the Pieces are, the more incredible it is, That of such Numbers, so often call'd for, none of them all should be ever heard of, for so long a Time, if they had been Genuine. I am as hearty an *Englishman*, and cherish the Credit of our Records as much as any one. But I cannot see, That we are so priviledged above others, as to have no false Pieces foisted into our *Archives*. F. Hardouin, pag. 136. quotes this Passage of *Baronius*, Anno 604. *Sed & execratione æque insectanda sunt quæ nomine Joannis & Petri Diaconorum sancti Gregorij in medium afferuntur ex codice vaticano scripta, quæ ob id recipienda simplices putant tanquam divinum Oraculum. Quasi non omnis bibliotheca——bonos & malos (contineat) libros, &c.* Many other Instances of false Pieces in the *Vatican Library*, and the *Archives* of all Countries, might easily be produced. And must we think the *Rolls* and *Lambeth* are alone exempt from universal Fate? Even Mr. *Earbery*, in all his Warmth was calm enough to own, That he is afraid he can give an Instance (of thrusting in a Forgery amongst a Croud of Papers, which few or none peruse) of that Nature, in the *Tower of London*. But this Instance, continues he, has Relation to a Fact done above 300 Years out of our Memory. And what then? Still this shews the *Tower* is not exempt from Forgery. Mr. *Earbery*

Earbery goes on: *But alas! this Register was viewed by our Adversaries within the Memory of the Facts.* And what was the Effect of it's being view'd? Alas! it was still rejected, and if it was in being within the Memory of the Facts, then the Facts Themselves would be a better Evidence than any Register. When he adds, *That if the Register is question'd, away go the Bible, Christianity and Popery down the Stream together,* we must have leave to wonder how Men, who think the Bible safe after they have pretended to find those Books *Apocryphal*, which had been owned for *Canonical* above thrice Three hundred Years out of our Memory, can *now* think it in Danger, because *Lambeth* is not infallibl. Must Christianity be in Danger, if we apply the most reasonable Methods of comparing Dates, Persons, Circumstances, and finding the Register inconsistent, we pronounce it forged? In a Word, as no Records are to be denied without Reason, so none are to be recited without Examination; and we have a particular Caution given us, for the Times of publishing this Register; since in the beginning of King *James the First's* Reign (as *protest. Dem.* observes pag. 92.) Pardons were given to many, and might be had by any for a small Sum of Money for forging Records. The Pardons went round in this Style *Perdonamus falsas fabricationes chartarum, scriptorum, monumentorum, sive aliquorum scriptorum quorumcunq; ac publicationes eorundem.* And the Times particularly requir'd it.

92. Another Reason which, says, *Le Courayer*, pag. 39. appears convincing is, *That if*
L 2^a they

they had a mind to forge Records, they would not have confin'd themselves to these, and they would have dress'd them up otherwise than they are. The *Logick* of these Lines must stand thus: The Register, if forged, would have been without any Want or Flaw in it? And is this convincing? You may as well say; if the Author of *Abdias* of *Babylon* had a mind to forge, he would have framed his Stories otherwise. Do Forgers never forget to prevent all Objections? Nay, if they prevented all, they could never be discover'd. They think some Pieces may suffice to dazzle Peoples Eyes and puzzle the Cause; which may be done in some Measure by a moderate Hand at the Work, whereas carrying it too far, might spoil all. It has so in Effect, in the present Case. But what would they have added to their Matters? Why, says he, *they would have given us the Record of Barlow's Consecration, which is so essential in this Affair.* It seems then something *essential* is wanting. And then too, his *Logick* is here again the same; they would have forged *Cranmer's* Register, if they forged *Parker's*. What? Must *Cranmer's* Register, in which *Barlow's* Consecration was to be inserted, have been also in one and the same Hand, for a matter of Twenty Years of his Episcopal Dignity? We shall see hereafter (particularly n. 138.) That his Register is very dubious. At present, I can see no farther Answer necessary to such Arguments as these, which only say, That if it were forged, no Signs of Forgery would appear in it. And this, we must needs say,
 is

is a strange way of *convincing*, That the Register is Genuine. For it would prove, That there never was a forged Piece in the World.

93. *The Variations of several Authors, who have cited these Registers, make up the third Objection, and is, in my Opinion, says the Librarian, the most apparent and most reasonable.* His Answer is, That they cited the Register upon Hearsay, or a bad Memory, and unfaithful Reports. This is not answering, but giving up the Point. For consequently they are not to be cited as good Authorities of the Truth of the Register. Now one of these, who vary from the Register, is the Author of *Parker's Life*, That is, *Parker* himself, as our Adversaries pretend, or his Secretary. Who must therefore be rank'd among the *unfaithful Reporters*. Before *Mason's Time* all *Disagree*. If since his Time they agree better, what wonder? When therefore he adds, *pag. 41. the Act exists now; there are authentick Certificates given by publick Officers, to attest, That the Record is the same with that which has been publish'd*, He says nothing to the present purpose: No body Questions (as I observ'd, n. 89.) but they might publish it as it was in *Mason's Time*. The question is, where it was for half a Century before, when it was never heard of, in so many Occasions for it; and while those who are pretended to cite it, are own'd to have done it by *Hearsays, bad Memories and unfaithful Reports*.

94. By the many Occasions for producing the Register, we mean those wherein *several Writers contemporary with Parker* (as the Li-

brarian says, (pag. 42.) highly reproach'd him, as well as the other new Bishops, that they had no Consecration. He pretends they only denied they were consecrated by that Form, which Catholicks thought intirely invalid. This he says, is evident from Stapleton's Words to Horn, *nec approbatam & assuetam vocationem ostendere unquam poteris*. He concludes, they only denied a Canonical Consecration, and, That the Register cannot be prov'd forg'd from that Reproach; because if it be look'd upon as Genuine, the Arguments of Stapleton and others, will have the same Force. But certainly from what has been observ'd at large from Stapleton, Harding, &c. It is very plain, how unfairly they are here represented, since it is evident, they did not insist only upon the Old Form, nor only upon the Uncanonicalness of the new Bishops Consecration, but also, That they had no Consecration from such as were themselves Bishops, nor by such a Form as the new Statutes requir'd. There were but two Ways of ordaining; one according to the Pontifical, the other according to the Ordinal: Stapleton expressly denies they were ordain'd by either. *Quis nescit te tuosq; Collegas, non dico aliter quam requirunt Canones, sed nec secundum præscriptum Statutorum vestrorum Ordinatos esse?* He appeals to publick Notoriety. Could so wise a Man make that Appeal (*quis nescit?*) if the contrary was notorious? And this clearly proves, That altho' some of those Catholicks insisted upon it, That the new Bishops were not ordain'd according to the Statutes, because the new Ordinal had not been re-establish'd by Name; yet this could not

not be all they pretended, by affirming the new Prelates were not made according to the Statutes. For our Adversaries pretend, That Objection of the Ordinal not being expressly renew'd, was only a Cavil, and no Body can pretend the Ordinal was *notoriously* illegal, and against the Statutes. *Stapleton* in particular, not only says, they were without a *lawful*, but even without all Imposition of Hands. *Sine omni impositione manuum*. In fine, he distinguishes between the Want of a *canonical* Ordination, and the Want of *all* Ordination by Imposition of Hands from true Bishops. He distinguishes between making Bishops in the Beginning of Q. *Elizabeth's* Days, and the making them in the following Years of her Reign. He denies them both a canonical One, and moreover, any Ordination at all, in the Beginning of those Times; and observing, That afterwards they were made by Imposition of Hands; he remarks how ridiculous it is to use That *now*, which at *first* was omitted. Can it be pardonable in the *Librarian* to deny, or in me to prove any longer the plain Meaning of that learned Doctor, and others of those contemporary Writers?

95. To what the *Librarian* says in this Chapter, of the Testimony of *Stow* and *Morton*, I shall have a better Occasion of replying, N. 104. and 110. and to That of the *Earl of Nottingham*, in the next Paragraph. In this, I will only add a Word or two of what he replies to the Argument, some draw from *Stow's* saying, the Catholick Bishops were deposed in *July*. Hence some infer,

That it is not probable the Queen would name *Tonstal*, *Bourne* and *Pool*, by a Commission on the 9th of *September* to consecrate *Parker*. *Le Courayer* grants (pag. 45.) it is *highly improbable* she would name them, if *then* already depos'd, and pretends to prove they were not depos'd till afterwards. It would be very needless, to examine his Proofs of it, (tho' I could easily shew, they are far from being so strong as he pretends) since, if it is *highly improbable* she would name Catholicks, because depos'd, it is no less improbable she would name those, whom she could not but know, were too firm Catholicks to act in that Sacrilege; or that she would name such, as *Barlow*, *Scory* and *Coverdale*, who were also depos'd, and not reinstated, and against whom, I hope, the *Librarian* will grant, there lay greater Exceptions, upon many Accounts, than against those three Catholick Bishops. I observ'd before (N. 72.) That the Forgers of the second Commission seem sensible of this, by inserting the Clause *Supplettes*, &c. The *Librarian*, pag. 143. says, "I have scarce any manner of Doubt, but that their main View in this Clause, related to the Persons of the Consecrators; *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*, had been depriv'd — and it might be doubted, whether they could legally do any Ecclesiastical Office, unless they had been first canonically restor'd. But as they were not actually restor'd at that Time, there was a very considerable Irregularity in this Respect, which was to be provided against by this Clause." One is often at a Loss, to know

know what this Author would say, if he were to speak out. Does he here mean, That the Queen's Dispensation is as good as a *Canonical* Restoration? But not to press him to speak out in such Points, this is certain, That two of those Bishops acted in other Consecrations, according to the Register, before they were restor'd; and yet the *Librarian* told us just before, (pag. 141.) there is not one in *Rymer*, from the Year 1559, to 1566, which has that Clause in it, except *Parker's*. This shews, That their having been depriv'd, was not the main Design of that Clause. It shews too, That the Forgers, stunn'd with the Difficulty of *dress'ing up* *Parker's* Consecration (to use the *Translator's* Expression) were too strangely maz'd, to forge their Instruments consequently; since otherwise, That Clause was not to be so soon cast out. Unless, perhaps they thought (as well indeed they might) That it was too strange a one to be ever heard of more than once. Yet on the other Hand, it should have been heard of oftner in their other Commissions; or some such Clause at least, of that Kind. For in the famous Act of Q. *Elizabeth* in 1566 we read thus: " Her Majesty in her Letters
 " Patents directed to the *Archbishops* and
 " *Bishops* for the Confirmation, Investiture,
 " and Consecrations of the *Bishops* elect, not
 " only made use of the Forms, that her Fa-
 " ther and Brother had us'd, but also caus'd
 " a *special Clause* to be inserted, whereby, in
 " Vertue of her Royal Prerogative, she dis-
 " penses with all *Defects* that might possi-
 " bly happen in those *Functions*, and removes
 " all

“ all the Difficulties that might be rais’d
“ against those Ordinations.”

§. II.

Other pretended Authorities, in Favour of the Register-Account, are partly false, partly insignificant, and partly against it.

96. We might suppose, That such Authorities at least, as the *Librarian* has not insisted upon, are either so weak, or so false, as not to deserve a particular Reply. However, as he ought, in Candor, to have then observ’d, That such improper Means of supporting the Credit of the Register have been us’d, as he could not reasonably or fairly urge; so lest still such other Authorities as have been alledg’d by *Bramhall*, should be thought by the Ignorant to be of any Moment, I will here examin them in short. And in the first Place, he makes a great Stir with the Statute last mention’d: That it declares, the making of the new Bishops, *was duly and orderly done, according to the Laws of this Realm — according to such Order, Form, and with such Ceremonies, in and about their Consecrations, as were allowed and set forth by the said Acts, Statutes, and Orders annex’d to the said Book of Common Prayer*; That this Statute for Proof hereof refers, says he, to *these very Records*. The Words of the Statute are: *As the Records of her Majesty’s said Father’s and Brother’s Time, and also her own Time, will more plainly testify and declare*. Hence, *Bramhall* infers, That if they were made by
That

That Form and those Ceremonies, they were consequently not made at the *Nag's-head*: And he asks, *Does the Parliament refer to Acts that are forg'd?* On the contrary, continues he, you see that it mentioneth them as authentick, undoubted, undeniable Proofs of what was really done. This he calls *unanswerable*. But, *First*, Mr. Stephens says very justly, (pag. 7.) That it is false and grossly fallacious; for the Statute has not a Word of any Register, but of Records only as Statutes and Records of Law; and he adds, That Mason writing in Latin, renders *Archiva* to deceive and abuse the Reader. *Secondly*, The Statute says indeed, That the Queen caused divers to be consecrated, according to such Form and Ceremonies, as were set forth in King Edward's Ordinal. But she does not say, That all, from the Beginning of her Reign, had been ordain'd in that Manner. Nay, she plainly supposes, That some were not so ordain'd. For She declares, That all Acts heretofore done by any Persons, about Consecration of any Persons, by Vertue of her Patents or Commission, since the Beginning of her Reign, shall be judg'd good; and then she adds, That all Persons that have or shall be consecrated after the said Form and Order (of K. Edward) should be order'd in very Deed; which would be superfluously ridiculous, if Nothing had been done but by that Ordinal. But because some Persons had acted in the Consecrations, and done some Things by Vertue of her Patents, which were not according to the Ordinal, she enacts (and not only declares, as Bramhall deceitfully pretends) That whatever was done, whoever

were

were the Persons ordain'd, or the Ordainers, the Consecration should be good. Whereas, if Nothing had been done, but by the Ordinal, the Statute ought to have said in plain Sense and *English*, as *Erastus Senior* observes, (chap. 19.) That all having been ordain'd according to that Form, and that Form being good, they were consequently duly and legally ordain'd. And the Author of the *Nullity of the Prelatick*, &c. (ap. *Le Quien* pag. 430. and 431.) observes, That the Queen says her *Patents* (for Consecration) *directed to Bishops, or others*, &c. which fairly hints, That *others*, besides Bishops, had been commission'd. Nay, the Act saying, *Patents directed to any Archbishop, Bishop, or others for the consecrating any Archbishop or Bishop*, in the singular Number, supposes visibly, That some of those Consecrations were done by some *One*, who pass'd for Bishop, and not by three or four Bishops; which agrees very punctually with *Scory's* sole Performance at the *Nag's-head*. I might add several other Remarks upon that Statute, from the Authors now mention'd; by which it is very clear, That this Statute rather adds, than diminishes the Grounds of believing the *Lambeth* Account is a Forgery. There appears in the whole Statute, a particular Confusion, in their Endeavour to palliate the Consecration of the first Bishops. And those Words, That *every thing was done as precisely, or rather more than ever before*, cannot possibly regard the Use of the new Ordinal, in the Consecration of them *all*, but only the *Preciseness* of the *Clauses* and *supreme Authority*, by which she dispensed with those *Persons* and *Things*, which had been done by Vertue of her

her Commissions. She says indeed, every Thing *requisite and material*, was done as precisely as before. But as Nothing was thought requisite, besides what she allow'd, or dispens'd with, so this is no Proof, that she affirms all the Consecrations were done according to the Register Account.

97. We shall now see the Register confute another pretended Testimony in it's Favour. I mean, That of *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, and High-Admiral. It is much boasted of by our Adversaries. The *Librarian* has also urged it, pag. 47. in these Words: "The hearsay Story of an unknown Person, ought not to be brought in Competition with the Acts that remain in the Registers: And that considering the Testimony it self as a Testimony, yet one should rather Credit the Affirmation of the Earl of *Nottingham* High-Admiral of *England*, who was present at the Ceremony, and was at the Dinner given at the Palace of *Lambeth*, than that of a Person so little noted as *Neal*". One might have expected to have found this Nobleman's Testimony in the *Librarian's* Appendix. He has other Pieces of less, and indeed of no Moment. But in fine, That could not be. For after all, this is no more than a hearsay Testimony. Was it therefore fair and candid to vilify the Testimony of *Mr. Neal* as a hearsay, and in the same Breath to object to us no better than another *hearsay*? I fear it is still less candid in *Mr. Williams* to say in his Preface pag. IX. *we have His* (that Earls) *Certificate in Mr. Mason*. For *Mason* (as cited by *F. Le Quien*

Quien pag. 438.) only says, the Earl said so to a Friend. A nameless Friend. Whereas Mr. Neal's Friends are named to whom he gave the Account of the *Nag's-head* while they were yet living. And tho' we don't offer at an invidious Comparison between the *Earl's* and Mr. Neal's Testimony, yet it is very unfair in the *Librarian*, to speak so contemptuously of a learned and virtuous Priest, and publick Professor of *Hebrew* in *Oxford*. But if we compare the Grounds of believing, that either of them gave such a Testimony, the Ballance is very much on our Side. For, as I said, the Persons to whom Mr. Neal spoke, *viz.* Mr. *Haberly* and Mr. *Bluet*, were nam'd while yet alive. Those to whom the Earl is pretended to have spoken, are to this Day nameless and unknown. Moreover, *Mason* having made so great Enquiries for Facts to support the Register, how came he not to find This, till many Years after the first Edition of his Book? Again: *Mason* discredits his Witness, by pretending, the Reason why that noble Earl was so particularly invited by *Parker*, was their being related. The *Librarian*, more cautious, if not more candid, has omitted this Circumstance. In Effect, there is so little Appearance of *Parker's* being related to that noble Family, That his Father was a poor Man, Scourer and Calendrer of the *Worsteds* of *Norwich*, as an Author cited by *le Quien*, in his Additions affirms, and *Godwin* owns his Birth is obscure. There is no Reason to despise any Man precisely for his mean Parents: But there is good Reason to reject a Testimony upon a false Pretence of Nobility. Still farther :

ther: The Register Account tells us, there was a great *Assembly of grave Men* at *Parker's Consecration*; and *Bramhall* pag. 118. says, *not less than thousands of Eye-witnesses*. Very strange, That of *thousands*, not one should be found to attest it but this Earl! Very strange also, That the pretended *Act of Parker's Consecration*, should name *Grindal*, *Cox* and *Sands*, who were *Elect Bishops* indeed, but less remarkable for *Dignity* even, and much less for *Merit*, than that noble Earl, and yet He not be nam'd! Still more strange, That he was not nam'd in that *Act*, as well as *Doyle*, *Baker* and *Marche*, who after all, were only *Servants of Parker*! Infine, among the *Numberless Strangenesses* of that *Act*, those Words in *presentia Edmundi Grindal — et aliorum quoq; nonnullorum*, are a strange Expression, for to mean a *High Admiral of England*, of so distinguish'd a Rank and Family; and *nonnulli alij*, is a mighty strange Expression for *not less than Thousands*. And now, sure, this Testimony must be thought to have little Appearance of Truth. If it were better supported, I readily own it would be very considerable, upon a particular Regard to the Candor of that noble Earl, who being present at the Execution of *F. Campian*, *F. Sherwin*, and *F. Briant*, on the first of *December 1581*. and being ask'd by *Q. Elizabeth* what he thought of them, he answer'd frankly, That he thought they were *Men of great Learning and Courage, and died innocent*. (*Pallavicini*, in his *Difesa del Pontificato*. Tom. 3. l. 6. cap. 8. pag. 158.)

98. The Authorities of *Godwin, Hall, Cambden* and *Wadsworth*, &c. which are pretended by *Bramball*, after *Mason*, in Favour of the Register, need no other Answer, than these Words of Mr. *Stephens*, pag. 8. “ For
 “ farther Evidence, (if more need, after so
 “ deceitful a Citation of a printed Statute)
 “ how little Trust or Credit is to be given
 “ to the Authors of Mr. *Mason*’s Book, the
 “ Citation of Mr. *Wadsworth*’s Letter Manuscript, without noting the Date; the Pretence of others, who mention the Register
 “ in Print, without the Names of the Authors, or Titles of the Books, and the alledging *Cambden*, Dr. *Collins*, and Dr. *Hall*,
 “ without the time when their Books were
 “ printed, which is all craftily done to impose upon the Reader; both do that effectually, and moreover, shew how lame a
 “ Cause it is in that Particular also: For,
 “ *Wadsworth*’s Letter, which is now in Print,
 “ is dated but April 1. 1615. and the other
 “ Books will be found printed, I believe,
 “ but about the same time, which is nothing
 “ to the Purpose. And what mysterious Dealings there were about that time, the
 “ *Convocation Book*, not long since publish’d,
 “ which had been so long kept secret, is a
 “ notable Instance.” Let me add, That *Bramball*, pag. 68. says, Mr. *Wadsworth*, testifies, after he had read *Parker*’s Consecration in the Register, That the Consecration of the first Protestant Bishops was attempted, but not accomplish’d at the Nag’s-head. Upon this, *Bramball* infers: If it was only attempted, not accomplish’d, then the Nag’s-head Ordination is a
 Fable.

Fable. Strange Inference! We all own the *Nag's-head* Ordination was only an *Attempt*, not a true Consecration; They were frustrated too in the *Attempt* of having a Consecration from *Landaff*. And as Mr. *Wadsworth's* reading the Register about the Year 1615. is nothing to the Purpose (for no one doubts, but that it might be read after *Mason's Book*) so his still being convinc'd, That they attempted a Consecration at the *Nag's-head*, is rather a Proof, That he neither believ'd this pretended *Register* to be true, nor the *Nag's Head Account* to be a Fable.

99. *Bramball* is still more unfortunate in the Authority he produces of Mr. *Clerke*, pag. 66. He there tells, That Mr. *Theophilus Higgins* alledg'd to Mr. *Clerke*, the *Nag's-head* Ordination, for one of his Motives of leaving the Church of *England*: That Mr. *Clerke* approv'd of his Caution, because *in dubiis tutior pars est eligenda*, but wish'd withal, That what our Authors had written concerning that Point, could be made good: But that Mr. *Clerke* said, That he himself was present when the Advocate of the *Arches*, whom the Queen sent to peruse the Register, and to give her an Account, whether the Consecration was perform'd canonically, answer'd, That *he had perused the Register, and that no just Exception could be made against the Consecration, but, he said, Something might have been better; particularly that Bishop Coverdale was not in his Rochet.* But he assur'd her, That, could make no Defect in the Consecration. Thus much, says *Bramball*, Mr. *Higgins* was ready to make Faith of while alive, and Mr.

Barwick, a Person of very good Credit, from Him at this present; and Mr. *Higgins* coming afterwards into *England*, and finding in the Register those express Words (*Coverdallus, non nisi toga laneâ talari utebatur*) and remembering what Mr. *Clerke* had told him, he said, That he never after made Doubt of the Truth of the Consecration. Thus *Bramhall*. I have been exact in giving his Account. Let us now see what it proves. *First*, It must immediately occur to every one, That *Bramhall* here furnishes a Witness against himself, by saying, That Mr. *Higgins* was induced by the *Nag's-head* Account to become a Catholick. Consequently, That Account was not only known, but very much attested in Q. *Elizabeth's* Days: Otherwise no Man of Sense, and so near the Time of the Fact, could be so far prevail'd upon, by a Fact, so contrary to the Notoriety of the *Lambeth* Account. *Secondly*, It makes Mr. *Clerke*, notwithstanding he is pretended to have heard the Testimony of the Advocate, still doubtful. *Thirdly*, It makes the Advocate very impertinent, to assure the Queen so very gravely, That *Coverdale's* odd Garb could not invalidate the Consecration. Could he possibly think the Queen so ignorant, as to think otherwise? *Fourthly*, It makes the Queen have a sad Opinion of her new Bishops. Either she doubted their Capacity, or their Principles; otherwise, why these Spies upon 'em. "It seems, says Mr. *Ward*, pag. 66. "She had a very bad Opinion of their Performance, as also a Doubt of their Fidelity, in relating Things themselves; or as if

“ if the Consecrators could not give her as
 “ perfect an Account, as any she could send
 “ to pry into the Business — and who can
 “ imagine Lawyers, should understand bet-
 “ ter what belong’d to Consecration, than
 “ the pretended Consecrators themselves.”

Mr. *Williams* is mighty angry at these and the like Reflections of Mr. *Ward*. He answers, *There is not a Word of this in the Register*. But there is in Mr. *Mason*, who pretends to write from the Register; and says, That *Six* Lawyers were sent to inspect: And must the Advocate of the Arches, be still sent to inspect the Register too, and the Queen be again inform’d, That *Coverdale’s* Gown was no essential Defect? All these affected Precautions, in so publick a Fact as the pretended Account of *Lambeth*, can have no other Effect, but to encrease the Suspensions of every impartial Judge. Infine; *Higgins*, *Clerke*, and *Barwick*, are only *Hear-say* Witnesses. Yet *Bramhall*, takes up with them, because he thinks they favour the Register. *Hear-say* Witnesses for the *Nag’s-head*; our Adversaries will not receive. Is this fair Dealing? Especially considering, That in our Case they are, as we shall see, very unlike to this pretended Testimony, which is only a Heap of Inconsistencies.

100. Here comes another Testimony, much of the same Nature, mention’d by *Bramhall* pag. 68. and more fully out of *Mason*, in *Williams* pag. 116. “ When *John Hart*, thirty Years ago (says *Mason* in his Edition of “ 1625.) denied our Orders as you do now; “ the learned *Reynolds* out of the Registers of

“ *Edmund Freak*, by whom he was ordain’d
 “ a Priest, and out of *Matthew Parker’s* Re-
 “ gisters, by whom *Freak* was ordain’d Bi-
 “ shop, transcrib’d the Consecrations; which
 “ when *Hart* saw, he presently confess’d,
 “ That he thought nothing of that Nature
 “ could be produc’d: And therefore agreed,
 “ That whole Argument should be erased and
 “ expung’d out of the Conference, That it
 “ might not be printed, being then to go to
 “ the Press. This *Reynolds* told me.” He
 adds, That *Reynolds* signified the same in his
 Epistle to *Thomas Baker*, Rector of *Soham*
 in *Suffolk*, and that he has it by him, given
 him by his Friend *Edward Baker*, after his
 Father’s Death; and that another Copy writ-
 ten by *Reynold’s* own Hand, is in the Cu-
 stody of his Friend *Henry Mason*. I don’t re-
 member, to have seen any, who have taken
 Notice of this Objection. Perhaps, others did
 not think it deserv’d any. However, since I
 find it has seem’d to some Protestants to be
 considerable; I answer, *First*, That after all,
 this is but a private Testimony of one Man,
 and not to be opposed to a much greater
 Number of those, who deny’d the *Lambeth*
 Account at the very time. *Secondly*, The
 Character of That one Man makes it impro-
 bable. For, as *F. Fitzherbert* says, in his
Supplement to the Discussion, chap. 5. pag. 212.
 “ Who knows not that *Dr. Reynolds* was an
 “ Arch-puritan, insomuch, That he preach’d
 “ once publickly at *Oxford*, against the Title
 “ and Authority of Bishops, and was chosen
 “ of late Years by the rest of the Sect, to de-
 “ fend their Cause before his Majesty at
Hampton

“ *Hampton Court.*” Where *F. Fitzherbert* adds, That he there discover’d himself so *weak*, and was so confounded, That it was credibly reported, That he wept there publickly, for very Sorrow and Shame; and that the King gave him several open Checks and *Rebukes*, and held him unworthy of his Presence afterwards at *Oxford*, and therefore, as I have heard, says That Learned Father, gave express Orders, That he should not come into his Sight. Is an *Arch-puritan*, and one so *rebuk’d*, a likely Witness of his own, or *Parker’s* Ordination? *Thirdly*, It looks suspicious, That the very Words of his Letter, the Date, the Particulars of it are not set down. Possibly it would not bear the Light, and had some Inconsistencies that would disprove the pretended Fact. *Fourthly*, As far as it is express’d, it only imports, That the Consecrations of *Reynolds*, and of *Freak*, were transcrib’d. Now, altho’ *Parker*, within some Years after his own Consecration, might keep a Register of such as he ordain’d Then, after his Manner; it does not follow, there was any old Register of *Parker* himself, or of the First Bishops; and This is what is denied. *Fifthly*, This pretended Testimony, if rightly consider’d, is a much stronger Argument against the Register Account, than in favour of it. For, if *John Hart* (who as *Bramball* owns, was a very ingenious Person) denied their Orders thirty Years ago, as we do now, he then denied them upon the *Nag’s-head* Account, among other Reasons, as we do now: If he thought nothing of that Nature, (of a register’d Consecration) could be produc’d, he

consequently knew nothing of the notorious *Lambeth Account*, but of a very opposite one, which made him think no Register could be produced: Whereas, a Register must have been supposed of course, unless there were strong Proofs, That no such Consecration had been. Why then did he expunge that Part of the Conference? If the Fact be true, That he expunged it, the Reason is very obvious, without being any Proof, That he was convinced: For, his Book being just going to the Press, he might rather expunge a Passage, which he would not then insist upon, than delay the Printing of his Book till he had taken Time to enquire farther into the Pretence of a Register, which it seems was a strange Novelty to him, never heard, never imagined by him before, tho' it was morally impossible he should never have heard of the *Lambeth Account*, if it was true; or not have imagined a Register was kept, which is a Thing of Course to be supposed, unless there are very strong Reasons to think there was none.

101. *Bramhall*, still continues his Misfortune of bringing Testimonies, which are either very insignificant, or against himself. He tells us, Ch. 6. pag. 68. That the Register being deliberately perused by *F. Oldcorne the Jesuit*, he confess'd himself clearly convinced of That whereof he had so long doubted — blaming us, as partly guilty of the gross Mistake of many, for not having publickly and timely made known to the World the notorious Falshood of that empty, but far spread Aspersions against our Succession. He adds, That the Bishop of *Chalcedon* makes this

this Confession, *That F. Oldcorne being in hold for the Powder-Treason, and judging others by himself, should say, the Registers to be authentick, is no marvel.* And now again, what does all this prove? *First*, It proves, *That long before the Powder-Plot the Nag's-head Consecration had been far spread, believed by many, and That the Register had not been timely produced.* *Secondly*, It proves, *That the Lambeth Account, which must have been more Notorious, if true, than the Register, was not so notorious as the opposite Account.* *Thirdly*, Since the Words *so long doubted*, cannot in Reason mean less than ten or a dozen Years, we have consequently the *Nag's-head Account* carried considerably higher than *King James I. Reign*, contrary to what our Adversaries pretend. *Fourthly*, If *F. Oldcorne* in Prison perused the Registers, how came no mention to be made of him, and of his Judgment upon them, when *F. Faircloth* and others were called to view them? Why were not they permitted a farther Examination, either in, or out of their Prisons? *Fifthly*, The Bishop of *Chalcedon* might very well say, *That it is no wonder, That F. Oldcorne judging others by himself, should think the Registers Authentick; because he might not in Prison have the Opportunity of examining them accurately, as indeed there is no Proof brought, but only a bare Affirmation of Bramhall, That he ever examin'd them at all; or he might not be aware of the Flaws in it, and chuse rather to judge favourably of the Register, than accuse Those of Forgery who produced them.* But as to the Bishop of *Chalcedon* him-
M 4 self,

self, if *Bramhall* would insinuate, That He also was of Opinion, That it was Authentick, the Insinuation would be very wrong ; both because the Words alledged, as from That Bishop, rather import the contrary, and because his Works plainly shew, That he was persuaded, That it is not Genuine ; nor does he affirm, That *F. Oldcorne* was convinced of their Authentickness, but only, that even supposing he was, yet that might be no Wonder ; since *judging others by himself*, he might think others scarce capable of such a Forgery. Candid Men, as *F. Oldcorne* was very particularly, may be sometimes, especially in the Surprise of a Register solemnly produced, brought into great Mistakes, by judging of other People's Candor by their own. It is not every one, That upon the first Appearance can judge of the Authentickness of Records: And the Arguments we have produced, shew, That if any Catholicks did (tho' I cannot see sufficient Proof that any did) at first judge them Authentick, they did it more upon judging of other People's Candor by their own, than upon other solid Grounds.

§. 12.

The Lambeth Account farther incredible, because That of the Nag's-head is very credibly attested.

102. Never was any Fact in the World of so notorious, so modern, so important, so singular a Nature, as That of the *Lambeth* Con.

Consecration, so soon denied, so strongly refuted, so weakly supported, as we have already seen it is. And yet there still remain very strong Evidences from the Credibility of the contrary Account of the *Nag's-head*. It is true, That considering the Persons and Notions of the new Protestant Prelates, it seems clear, That they thought, One, or more, or any Sort, or no Ordination at all, to be very indifferent Things. It does not, therefore, I grant, precisely follow, That if they were ordain'd at the *Nag's-head*, they were not ordain'd at *Lambeth*; since they might have been at both Places, and tried to mend their former Work by a second. But since, even our Adversaries grant, That if the *Nag's-head* Consecration is true, That of *Lambeth* is forged; it follows, That the credible Testimonies for the former, make the latter still more incredible. Whereas on the other side, if any should think the *Nag's-head* Story is not sufficiently attested for an absolute Assent, it will not follow, That the *Lambeth* Account is to be therefore the more credited; because, still it has unanswerable Arguments against it. In the Nature of the Things both may be false. But as I observed above (N. 37.) That if only probable Grounds could be produced, either to believe the one, or discredit the other of these Accounts, it would suffice to oblige the *English* to seek securer Orders, so I added, That I hoped not to be so misunderstood, as if I thought the *Nag's-head* Account were not much the better supported of the two. Let us see.

103. “ In the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*’s Reign (they are *Champney*’s Words in the *Librarian* pag. 30.) the Catholick Bishops being deposed and imprison’d, as as shall be seen hereafter, others were to be ordained and substituted in their Places. They, who were nominated and elected to this Dignity, met at *London* by Appointment, at the Sign of the *Nag’s-head* in *Cheapside*; thither likewise upon Invitation came the Bishop of *Landaff*, grown decrepid by reason of his Age, a simple, timorous Man, from whom the new Candidates expected Ordination: But *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, then in Prison, upon Account of Religion, hearing of it, threatned *Landaff* with Excommunication if he ordain’d them; who being terrified by this Message, and perhaps being inwardly touch’d with the Stings of Conscience, drew back, and refused to lay his Hands upon them, alledging the Weakness of his Eyes, as the Cause. The new Candidates being thus deceived in their Expectations, and thinking themselves imposed upon, began to revile the old Man, whom they had before treated with a great deal of Reverence and Respect; some of them saying, *this Fool believes we cannot be made Bishops, unless we are greased with Oyl*: Ridiculing as well the old Bishop, as this Catholick Custom in Consecration. But being thus deprived of a Consecrator, they were forced to seek for a new Expedient; and they had Recourse to *Scory*, an Apostate Monk, for their Ordination, who under *Edward VI.* had

“ had usurp’d a Bishoprick, without any
 “ Consecration, as shall be made appear
 “ hereafter: This Man, who had, together
 “ with his religious Habit, put off all Con-
 “ science, soon perform’d what they desir’d,
 “ using this Ceremony: They all kneeling
 “ before him, and he laying the Bible upon
 “ the Head of each of them, said, *Receive*
 “ *Power to preach the Word of God sincerely;*
 “ and thus they all rose up Bishops.”

104. *Le Courayer*, notwithstanding the plain unaffected Candor of this Narrative, is pleas’d to call it an *empty silly Story*. If he had fairly produc’d the Authorities which support it, I know not with what Face he could have given it that Character. He says indeed, That *Champney* adds, That he had that Account from one *Thomas Bluet*, who receiv’d it himself from one *Thomas Neal*, then Officer of Bishop *Bonner*, whom *Bonner* sent to *Landaff*, to threaten him with Excommunication, if he acted in that Affair, and to be a Witness of what pass’d there, which was thus, as it is here related;” But he does not add, That *Champney* says, *Mr. Bluet* was a grave, learned, and judicious Priest: Nor, that *Mr. Neal* was a Priest of Probity and Reputation, Professor of Hebrew at Oxford; Nor, That *Bluet* had other Means to be inform’d of this Matter, being long Prisoner together with *Dr. Watson Bishop of Lincoln*, and divers other Men of Mark of the ancient Clergy, in whose Time, and in whose Sight, as a Man may say, this Matter was done. Of this Narration there are, I think, as many Witnesses yet living, as there are Priests remaining alive,
 that

that have been Prisoners together with Mr. Bluet in Wisbich Castle, where I also heard it of him. Nor again does the Librarian mention any where, that Confirmation of this Passage, which Champney in his Latin Edition, brings from Mr. Henry Constable's Manuscripts. This learned Gentleman's Words are, *Parkerus, a duobus ad summum sacerdotibus, non Episcopis ordinatus fuit; si tamen Barlous, Scoræo in ea actione astiterit, quod me quidem latet. Senex enim ille Landavenfis Episcopus, qui ad locum consecrationis Parkeri, & cæterorum adductus fuit, se lumine oculorum privatum simulabat, ne tantum sacrilegium committeret. Unde factum est ut ad Scoræum recurrerint, de quo prius non cogitaverant. Quod non tantum Catholici integerrimæ fidei, qui rei gesta testes erant oculati, testantur, sed etiam Joannes Stowus ejusdem rei testis est, qui omnes hujus rei circumstantias diligentè perquisivit, tametsi illas in Chronico suo referre non ausus sit.* This Testimony ought the less to have been omitted, because alledg'd by several Catholicks, as of one, whose Testimony is the more to be regarded, because he was, as Champney says, *Nobilis, & ut omnes norunt, qui eum noverunt, magni, acrisq; ingenij, & qui levibus conjecturis non movebatur.*

105. Speaking (N. 59 and 60.) of Stow, I delay'd confirming what I there said of him, by this Authority of Mr. Constable, both to avoid repeating it, and because I had a mind first to consult an Edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, which I had formerly seen, and took to be the first Edition of it, which is grown rare. Some who have read it very carefully,

carefully, affirm That they did not find, That *Stow* mentions there the Consecration of *Grindal* to have been on *December 21. 1559.* It is clear however, by the different Pages, That neither That cited by *Le Courayer*, nor That by *F. Hardouin*, is the same I have now by me. I will not be positive it is the very first Edition; but I must own, That the Title Page marks it, printed by *John Wolfe*, 1598, the same Year in which the Title says, it was writ by *Stow*. I own too, That pag. 406. it says, *Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, being consecrated the 21st of December 1559. was translated to York, in the Year 1570.* Upon this, *Le Courayer*, pag. 44. infers, *This Fact alone, reported by Stow, destroys the History of the Nag's-head, and the Argument brought from his Silence in his Chronicle, and the pretended secret Intelligence of his dumb Friends, who say nothing at all.* But his Inference is much too nimble. First, Because *Stow* may very well have known the *Nag's-head* Affair, and yet have been prevail'd with, to fix *Grindal's* Consecration to that Day. For, since his Sincerity was over-aw'd, to conceal it in his Chronicle, it is less Wonder if he was over-aw'd farther in his Decay of Age, to countenance a Date, which might in the latter End of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, begin to be whisper'd abroad, as a Forerunner of the Register, which was not yet ripe. It was already forty Years after the Fact, and *Stow* grown old; and tho' in a second Edition of his Chronicle, he did not yet dare to countenance any such Date of the new Bishops Consecration, yet he gave other
Tokens

Tokens of Insincerity, which may justly be suspected in this Date. *Secondly*, It is observable, That mentioning *Sands*, who succeeded *Grindal* at *London*, he says nothing of His Consecration; and tho' he sometimes mentions the Year, when other Bishops of *London* were consecrated, yet of the whole Number, of at least a *Hundred* Bishops of *London*, whom he there mentions, he has not mark'd the *Day*, on which any one of them all, was consecrated. No, not even of *Bancroft*, then actually just made Bishop. Is not this Date then of *Grindal*, a visible Affectation, either of *Stow*, or (which I rather believe) of some Body else, who foisted it in, for him? *Thirdly*, Be it as it will, this odd Chance of a Date, can never stand in Competition with the numerous Proofs against it. *Lastly*, It is observable, That the *Librarian* first gags our Witnesses, and then insults them as dumb Ones; whereas, in this very Point of *Stow's* Authority, they speak so loud and so plain, that the *Librarian* endeavours in vain to stifle their Evidence. For, *Mr. Constable* affirms *Stow's* Knowledge of the *Nag's-head* Affair, as unquestionable; and *Dr. Champney* says, That *Stow* himself affirm'd it to *Persons that are yet living, of entire Credit and Fidelity*. The *Earl of Nottingham's* Testimony was not produc'd till after his Death, and they are nameless Friends to whom he is said to have spoken. If These are *dumb Witnesses*, let us hear of them no more, or let *Stow's* Friends be heard: Especially since the Testimony of These is strongly supported, and That of the others, fails on every Side.

106. And now let us proceed to other Witnesses of the *Nag's-head* Affair, who have been pass'd over in deep Silence, by an unwarrantable Dumbness of the *Librarian*. Thus, he takes no Notice, That the same Account is related by *Sacrobosco* or *Holiwood* in his Book, *de Investigandâ Christi Ecclesiâ*, printed in 1603. That is, ten Years before *Mason's* Book; and is cited by *Mason*; as is also the Preface to *The Discussion*, printed in 1612; And moreover it is related by *Fitzsimons* in his *Britannomachia*, and *Kellison* in his *Examen novæ reformationis*, printed in 1616, after having urg'd the same Account in 1608 against *Sutcliff*, who had cited a pretended Register, but differently, as we have seen from *Mason*. Why did not the *Librarian* shew more Candor in mentioning these Authors, and that *F. Holiwood* had heard the Account from Mr. *Haberly*, with whom he was Fellow Prisoner in *Wisbich* Castle for Religion? He could not be ignorant of the Particulars mention'd by *Mason*. It seems, as if he was sensible *Mason* had prejudic'd his Cause, by owning the *Nag's-head* Account was so positively asserted, by so learned and virtuous Men, and so long, before Protestants offer'd to answer it. But he should have reflected, That his Cause is more prejudic'd by dissembling such strong Authorities; and yet there remain many others. For, *Godwin* cited by *F. Le Quien*, pag. 197. joins *Harding* to *Fitzsimons* and others, who deny the *Lambeth* Consecration, and assert a very different one. His Words are; *de loco si quæris hujus consecrationis, baud alius fuit quam consuetus, Capella nimirum*

rum Archiepiscopalis Lambethensis, utcunq; diversa tradunt impudentissimi Rabula Hardingus, Fitz-simon, et alij. Tho^e he adds, Hardingo aliquo tamen modo ignosci potest, quod, quæ nemo adhuc arguerat, tradiderit sibi tamen nondum credita. These Words of *Godwin* insinuate, indeed, That *Harding* did not positively assert the *Nag's-head* Account. But still they shew, That it is so far from being, as is now pretended, a Fable invented in the Reign of King *James the First*, that it had taken Air in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Days, and yet it was never contradicted in those Days. No one press'd *Harding* with the Folly of denying a notorious Fact; a Fact, of which we are told there were not less than a thousand Eye-Witnesses. I must own indeed, with F. *Le Quien*, That I never met with any Place in *Harding*, where he clearly speaks of the *Nag's-head* Account. But I must add also with him, That *Harding*, besides his Works, which I have cited, writ others mention'd by *Pits*, and some besides, which *Pits* owns he had not seen; and we have no Reason to suspect That *Godwin* would be so particular in mentioning *Harding*, and endeavour to diminish his Authority, unless he had read some of that Doctor's Works, in which he spoke of it. And the Places I have cited from *Harding* (§. 2.) as they are absolutely inconsistent with his knowing any Thing of the *Lambeth* Account, so they sufficiently insinuate One, of which the old Bishops were ashamed, and which the new ones durst not name. All that *Godwin* says to the Authority of *Harding*, (who, as he pretends,

speaks)

speaks dubiously of it) is this: *quis sana mentis, tam ridicula, & ab omni credulitate abhorrenti calumnia, fidem adhibuerit?* The Answer is very easy. Any impartial Man would sooner believe those new Prelates would take up with any Sort of Ordination, than that so publick a one as is pretended, could be denied by any Men in their Senses.

107. Besides this Authority of *Harding*, for which we are oblig'd to *Godwin*, and those (N. 99. 100.) of *Higgins*, *Clerke*, and *Hart*, with which *Bramhall* has oblig'd us, *Laurence Humphrey*, in his Preface to the Works of *Jewel*, gives us a very illustrious Testimony, which shews, That the *Nag's-head* Account had, in Substance, pass'd the Seas very early. He there owns, the great Bishop *Hieron Osorius*, call'd the *Cicero* of *Portugal* for his Eloquence, objected to the new *English* Prelates, that they were Disciples of *Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, and *Calvin*, and, as such, consecrated without any Ceremony. *Buceri aut Martyris tantum discipulos, & a Calvino institutos, sine ULLA CEREMONIA CONSECRATOS.* The Consecration at the *Nag's-head*, was done in such a Manner, as may well be said, to have been done without any Ceremony; but, That of *Lambeth*, had many long Ceremonies; *Osorius* could not therefore mean That. If he made that Objection in his Book against *Haddon*, printed at *Lisbon* in 1567. he must have known, they were not solemnly consecrated, within Six Years after the Fact. And in whatever Book it is, he must have objected it within about a Dozen Years of that pretended notorious Fact; For, *Humphrey's* Book

was printed in 1573. Was *Lambeth* Solemnity return'd, to confound his Objection? Was the Register produced? No. *Humphrey* gave no Answer but Injuries. *Haddon* and *Fox* (says *Champney*,) only replied in general, That they had Imposition of Hands, and *propriis Ceremoniis utimur, sicut & vos & ceteræ nationes, suas administrant*. But here is not a Word of *Lambeth*, Nothing of the Register, Nothing determinate of the First Bishops, Nothing of *Osius's* Folly, in saying, That was done *without any Ceremony*, which was notoriously done with long Ceremonies, and those, long since prescribed and known to all by King *Edward's* Ordinal. This is only mere Shuffling. The Question is, how *Parker* and others of the First, were ordain'd, not how afterwards they ordain'd others. Catholicks must be understood to speak of the First, because it was daily visible how the others afterwards were ordain'd: They could not therefore ask *how* and by *whom*, of These. Whoever these Questions are ask'd of, must have been ordain'd originally in a more private Manner. Protestants on the contrary must be understood to be under a conscious Puzzle and Shame, while instead of directly answering how the first Bishops were ordain'd, They only Answer, what was the Method afterwards. Thus I observed above, That *Jewel* answered directly of *his own* Election in particular, but of Consecration, only in general; *we are consecrated*. And I cannot but add here, That when ask'd who made him Priest, he answers directly, (tho' falsely,) pag. 130. Edit. An.

An. 1567. *I am a Priest made by the same Order and Ordinance, and, I think, also by the same Man, and the same Hands, That you Mr. Harding, were made Priest by.* But in the very next Lines, ask'd who made him Bishop, he answers, *I am Bishop by the Election of the Chapter of Sarisburie;* But of his Episcopal Ordination in particular, not a Word. You find him saying, *we are ordain'd,* but he dares not say, *I was ordain'd by such and such a one.* And yet what did not That Man dare to say? How many other more distant Facts did he falsify? The particular Fact of his own Consecration was too Modern to be own'd. Nothing else could stop a Man of his Sharpness from a direct Answer, or one of his Boldness from appealing to a Register, if it had been in any tolerable Condition of appearing so soon.

108. As this Reproach of being *made without any Ceremony at all*, is plainly opposite to the *Lambeth Solemnity*, and agrees with the *Nag's-head Work*, so the Reproach made by the *Puritans* of those Times, is exactly the same, if not still more express. *Fitz-Simon* mentions, pag. 60. of his *Britannomachia*, That the *Puritans* presented to the Parliament their *Demonstration of Discipline*, and pag. 317. he says, They plainly there affirm'd *Episcoporum hodie in Anglia profanum ordinem, ac ordinationem in angulo, extra congregationem, initium & progressum habuisse.* Can it be imagin'd, That the *Puritans* in the Parliament could say, the *English* original Ordination was done in a Corner, and not in a Congregation, if it had been publickly done at the *Lambeth Chapel*,

and according to the Register? And this confutes the Objection of Mr. *Williams*, pag. 89. where he urges, That if the *Nag's-head* Consecration had any Thing of Truth in it, the *Factionous Puritans* of That Age would have cast it in the Teeth of the new Bishops. *Williams* adds, in Proof, That they never objected such a Consecration. First, That on the contrary they objected, That the *English* were ordain'd by such as had received the *Romish Antichristian* Orders. Secondly, That in *Bancroft's* Book of *Dangerous Positions*, where he has collected many of the *Puritan's* Objections, he has not mention'd This. I grant they often objected to the *English* Protestants, That their Orders were *Popish* and Antichristian. What wonder? They pretended to Orders from us. The *Puritans* lay hold of their Pretensions to such Orders, and often argue from them. This was their most general Plea. Whether the *English* were solemnly ordain'd, or in a Corner, this Plea equally holds in the Opinion of the *Puritans*, and against the new Clergy, and whether they were ordain'd by true or false Bishops, still the Origin of their Orders is Antichristian according to the *Puritans*, because they pretended to derive them from the Pope. And as to *Bancroft's* taking no Notice of that Objection from a *Corner-Ordination*, it is no Proof at all. For, by Mr. *Williams* and others, we often find Writers pass over several Objections in Silence. Let others judge why they do so. But here is a positive Testimony, That it was objected. And to shew us, That it was not answer'd,

is rather a great Presumption, That it could not be answer'd.

109. And this naturally minds me of the Passage, in the *Treatise of the Nature of Catholick Faith and Heresy*, pag. 8. N. 3. " *Bancroft* Bishop of *London* being demanded by " *Master William Alabaster*, how *Parker* and " his *Colleagues* were consecrated Bishops? " Answer'd, *He hoped*, *That in Case of Necessity*, a *Priest* (alluding to *Scory*) might " *Ordain Bishops*. This Answer of his was " objected in Print by *Holiwood* against him, " and all the *English Clergy* in the Year 1603. " Not a Word replied, *Bancroft* himself being then Living." This Passage, as it is confirm'd by *Bancroft's* Proceedings, which I spoke of N. 32; so from thence we may readily account for his not answering to the Objection of *Parker's* being ordain'd in a *Corner*. For he, who thought a *Priest* could ordain a *Bishop*, might well think the *Nag's-head* *Corner* might suffice. It shews moreover, very plainly, That he was forced to own, They had not their Orders from any certain *Bishop*; and agrees perfectly with the *Nag's-head* Performance by *Scory*. It is pleasant to hear *Bramball* answer this Passage, Ch. 7. pag. 73. where he says, *This is certain, he could not allude to Bishop Scory, who was consecrated a Bishop in the Reign of King Edward VI. as by the Records of those Times appeareth.* Now, besides That those Records are justly suspected, and the Answer of *Bancroft* shews he was not sure of *Scory's* Episcopal Character, it is certain, he thought a *Priest* might Ordain; it is certain, he must

have alluded to *Scory* or *Barlow*, chuse which you please; it is certain, his alluding to *Scory* was publish'd some Years before he died; it is certain, That he never denied that Passage, so remarkable in it self, and so publickly objected; it is certain, That if *he had greater Matters to trouble his Head with*, as *Bramball* says, some one else should have answer'd for him; it is certain, he could not have greater Matters in his Head, than to justify his Principles and his Orders, in so remarkable an Attack. Infine, as to what *Bramball* adds, of his *not believing a Word of what is here said of Bancroft*, it is a very ready Way of answering, but it certainly needs no Reply.

110. But these Words of *Bramball* in the same Place (*Why might not Holiwood be misinform'd of the Bishop of London, as well as you your selves were of the Bishop of Durham?*) deserve particular Notice, and furnish a strong Evidence of the *Nag's-head* Ordination. He alludes to that Passage of the *Treatise* just cited, That upon Occasion of a Book presented in Parliament, to prove the Protestant Bishops had no Consecration; "*Doctor Morton replied, They had been consecrated at the Nag's-head in Cheap-side, as was notorious to all the World, &c.*" The Authors of the *Treatise* add, This was told to many by one of the ancientest Peers of *England*, present in *Parliament* when *Morton* made his Speech; and the same he is ready to depose upon Oath." It may well be imagin'd, That whatever greater Matters *Dr. Morton* had to trouble his Head with, as well as *Bancroft*, yet this Passage made too
great

great a Noise to be pass'd over in Silence. He was therefore engag'd to protest against it. *Bramhall* and *Le Courayer*, have at large his Protestation, and that of other Lords then in Parliament, and the Clerk of the Parliament's Attestation, That in the Book of the Lords House, he found no such Speech of *Morton*. What happen'd? The Authors of that *Treatise* publish'd another at *Antwerp* in 1659. wherein they reply to *Bramhall's* triumphant Insults. It is under the Title of the *Nullity of the Prelatick Clergy of England*. Not having it now by me, tho' I have seen it some Years ago, I will quote the Testimony of my Lord *Audley*, from Mr. *Ward*, *Canto*. 2. as far, at least, as will fully answer *Bramhall*, and confirm the Allegation, leaving the Reader to consult the *Nullity of*, &c. for other Particulars.

Thus then, my Lord *Audley* deposes. " Who
 " the Author of the *Treatise of Catholick Faith*,
 " &c. fixeth on, to prove his Allegations touch-
 " ing the Bishop of *Durham's* Speech, I know
 " not; for he told me of it before ever I
 " spoke to him; but sure I am, if it be look'd
 " after, he may have sufficient Testimony to
 " satisfy half a Dozen Juries. But that which
 " stirs me to speak in this Matter, is a Note
 " I have at the Request of the Bishop of
 " *Derry* (*Bramhall* himself) given him under
 " my Hand, wherein I say in Substance,
 " the same with the Author, touching the
 " Bishop of *Durham's* Speech. In truth, I
 " wonder'd much to find, That the Bishop
 " of *Durham* does deny this Speech, for I
 " cannot remember that ever I heard of,

“ or read the Story of the *Nag's-head*, till
 “ that Day in Parliament of my Lord of
 “ *Durham*; Then I heard it from him, and
 “ This I say, as I shall answer it before the
 “ Judgment Seat of God Almighty — As
 “ to the Bishop of *Durham's* Denial, I hope,
 “ That confessing himself now of the Age of
 “ Ninety Five Years, it will be held no Crime
 “ to say, or improbable to believe, That one
 “ of that great Age, may at least forget what
 “ he spoke so many Years since. For the
 “ two Certificates of the other Lords, That
 “ of the Temporal, says little to my Lord of
 “ *Derry's* Purpose, neither with an indifferent
 “ Judgment can That of the Spiritual, work
 “ much. For my Part, I do not say, that
 “ any, or all their Lordships, whose Names
 “ are put to the Certificate, were in the House
 “ at this time, or if any of them were, that
 “ they took Notice of what my Lord of
 “ *Durham* spoke. For, many Discourses are
 “ made in Parliament, and little Notice taken
 “ of them — And it is not the Office of a
 “ Clerk to record them (his Work would be
 “ too great) till it be a Result or Conclusion,
 “ and then he writes them down as Orders,
 “ Ordinances, &c. of Parliament. I will end
 “ this short and faithful Defence, which I
 “ have been here necessitated to make for
 “ my self, with many Thanks to my Lord
 “ of *Derry* for his Charity and Opinion of
 “ my Ingenuity; and seeing his Lordship's
 “ Inclination in this Matter is to absolve me
 “ from a malicious Lye, I will absolve my
 “ self, as to Mistake, either in the Person or
 “ Matter; assuring his Lordship, and all the
 World

“ World there is none.” This Testimony of my Lord *Audley*, seems to have stop’d the Lord of *Derry’s* Mouth, since in the following Editions of his Book, he says Nothing against it. But was it fair either in him, or in *Le Courayer* to dissemble it, and still accuse us of supporting the *Nag’s-head* Story with a *forged Testimony* of the Bishop of *Durham*? How could the *Librarian* say pag. 49. *They believ’d him dead, when they produc’d his Testimony*? The very Treatise that alledg’d his Testimony, expressly says, he was yet living. I am unwilling to give such Proceedings their obvious Name, and am sorry That besides the great Age of *Morton*, which might make him forgetful, and in that Regard, make my Lord *Audley’s* Testimony be much the more credible of the two, *F. Persons* and others, in their Books against him, had prov’d him guilty of so many Falsifications and Corruptions of the Authors and Facts he had alledg’d in his Writings, That his Testimony in *controversial Matters*, can not be of any Credit; especially when oppos’d by Men of Honour, whose Sincerity is own’d by their very Adversaries. It is moreover remarkable, That not only *Dr. Morton*, but no others of the Lords, or any for ’em, as far as I could ever hear, ever offer’d to contest the Fact, after my Lord *Audley’s* Testimony. Infine, it is also remarkable, That *Dr. Morton*, who liv’d near Forty Years of *Q. Elizabeth’s* Reign, must have been nearly acquainted with many who had been Eye-witnesses of *Parker’s* Consecration, if it had been perform’d at *Lambeth*. It must therefore seem strange, That in his
Testimony

Testimony he should chuse to appeal to *Mason's Register*, which he knew was contested; and not offer to mention the Fact as a Thing of publick Notoriety in his younger Days, nor appeal to any, who had heard of the *Lambeth Account*, before he had been charged with asserting That of the *Nag's-head* in the Parliament, and even before *Mason's Book* appear'd.

III. The *Treatise of Catholick Faith*, &c. in 1657. expressly says moreover, *I have spoken with both Catholicks and Protestants, That remember near Fourscore Years, and acknowledge That so long, they heard the Nag's-head Story related as an undoubted Truth.* This carries that Account into Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign: And since it certainly was both known and believed by *F. Persons*, *Dr. Kellison*, *Dr. Champney*, *Mr. Constable*, *F. Holivood*, *F. Fitzherbert*, Men of remarkable Learning and Wisdom, who had been acquainted with Cardinal *Allen*, *Dr. Stapleton*, and many other great Men, both among Protestants and Catholicks, and neither could want Opportunity, nor Prudence to sift so extraordinary a Point to the Bottom; since it has been so constant a Tradition among Catholicks; since by these great Men, and by the Testimony of *F. Faircloth* and many others, whom we have already produced, and more still to be added, it has been so well attested that the *Librarian* owns it has been for so long a Time a Ground for the Church of *Rome*, and all other Catholick Countries to reordain all *English* Ministers; since it was several Years publish'd particularly and circumstantially in Print, before any Protestant durst offer to deny it; we must conclude

clude it is incomparably better attested than the pretended *Lambeth Account*. And this will still farther appear by shewing how weakly the *Librarian* has argued to disprove the *Nag's-head Ordination*. This we shall now see. Having first added, That *Heylin* has obliged us with an Acknowledgement, That *Dr. Sanders* must be added to the Authors, who attest it. We will pardon *Heylin* his wretched angry Pun, *Dr. Sanders* (*never more truly Dr. Slanders*) publish'd this Slander, That the Persons design'd by the *Queen* for several *Bishopricks*, being met at a Tavern, did then and there lay Hands on one another, without Form or Order. *Eliz. 2. pag. 121.* And moreover the *Legacy left to Protestants*, printed at *Doway 1654.* says, " I know they have
 " tried many Ways, and feign'd an old Re-
 " cord to prove their Ordination from Catho-
 " lick Bishops : but it is false, as I have re-
 " ceiv'd from two certain Witnesses. The
 " former of them was *Dr. Darbishire* the Dean
 " of *S. Pauls*, and Nephew to *Dr. Bonner*
 " Bishop of *London*, who almost sixty Years
 " since, liv'd at *Mussipont*, then a Religious
 " Man, very Aged, but perfect in Sense and
 " Memory, who speaking what he knew, af-
 " firm'd to my self and another with me,
 " That, like good Fellows, they had made
 " themselves Bishops at an Inn, because they
 " could not get true Bishops to consecrate
 " them. My other Witness was a Gentleman
 " of known Worth and Credit, dead not
 " many Years since; whose Father, a Chief
 " Judge of this Kingdom, visiting Archbishop
 " *Heath* permitted by Queen *Elizabeth* his
 " God-

“ God-Child, to live in *Surrey* at the Par-
 “ sonage House of *Cobham*, saw a Letter sent
 “ from Bishop *Bonner* out of the *Marshalsea*,
 “ by one of his Chaplains, to the Archbishop,
 “ read whilst they were at Dinner together,
 “ wherein he merrily related the Manner how
 “ these new Bishops (because he had dissuad-
 “ ed *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlile* from doing
 “ it in his Diocese) ordain’d one another in
 “ an Inn, where they met together.” Dr. *Tho.*
Bret, a Minister of the Church of *England*,
 in his Book of *the Divine Right of Episcopacy*,
 pag. 180. fairly cites out of the same *Legacy*,
 this whole Passage, as an Objection against the
 Validity of *English* Orders. His Answer to
 the first Part is, *Not to cavil*, says he, *with*
the Author, *for calling Dr. Darbshire Dean of*
Paul’s, *when he was never more than Canon*
of that Church; *What Evidence did this Doctor*
give, more than his bare Word, for what he
said? The second Part he rejects as a mere
Hearsay. But, Dr. *Darbshire’s* bare Word will
 be taken for sufficient Evidence in the present
 Case, by any one, who shall observe, That as
 Nephew to Bishop *Bonner*, and Dean or
 Canon of *St. Paul’s*, he was in Occasion of be-
 ing fully inform’d of the Truth of what he
 said: And that he was a Man of singular
 Virtue, and for the Prudence and Learning,
 which he join’d with his Sanctity, was de-
 puted by the *English* Catholicks to the Coun-
 cil of *Trent*, there to have the Decision of
 the *Fathers* about their Obligation of not go-
 ing to the Protestant Churches, as *Juveny*
 relates in his *History of the Society of Jesus*,
 pag. 223. And as to the second Part of the
 Relation,

Relation, the particularly circumstanced Account, That grave Author gives of it, will be thought more, than a mere *Hearsay*.

§. 13.

The Weakness of our Adversaries Objections confirms the Nag's-head Account.

112. Not to omit what just now occurs ; possibly it may be objected, That F. *Darbishire's* great Age may be as good an Exception to his Memory, as That of Dr. *Morton*. Let it be granted as to the Age alone : Still there are three great Disparities. *First*, That F. *Darbishire's* being *perfect in Memory* is positively testified, not so of Dr. *Morton*. *Secondly*, *Darbishire's* Probity and Sincerity had never been question'd in any Kind ; *Morton's* Insincerity in controversial Matters had not been question'd only, but often proved. *Thirdly*, The very Testimony now in Question, was directly confuted by a Nobleman, whose Ingenuity is own'd by his Adversaries, in the Case of Dr. *Morton* ; no such Thing in That of Dr. *Darbishire*. And now, as to other Objections, which have been made to the *Nag's-head* Account, it is observable in general, That as far as they regard directly That particular Fact, they are entirely negative, or merely *supposed Improbabilities*. No positive Witness is even pretended to say, That *Parker*, *Scory*, *Landaff*, or *Neal* were not at the *Nag's-head* together, at That Time, or to deny the other particulars. All is reduced to This, That it is not, as they pretend, a likely Thing : But
as

as we have the Philosopher's Axiom for it, That it is very likely, That many unlikely Things happen; so, That is a very weak Pretence to be opposed to direct and positive Testimonies. Such indirect Proofs may be considerable, where they are not quash'd by other direct Evidences; where These are not sufficiently refuted, Those can be of no Force. Nay, even considering all things, the mere *Likelihoods* will be found stronger in Favour of the *Nag's-head* Account, than against it. And indeed, if we were only to speak to such as are vers'd in these kind of Debates, there would be no need of a particular Reply to *Le Courayer's* Objections to the *Nag's-head* Affair, both because he has not the very Appearance of any thing, more than what he found in *Bramhall* against it, and because the Answer is easily drawn from what has been hitherto said, in the Proofs of it. But since some are not so ready at Applications, and because they will clear the Matter further, let us see what he urges. *Non erat dif-fugiendum hoc officium styli nostri, non quia ille novum aliquid dicit, cui non jam multis modis & saepe responsum est, sed propter tardiores fratres, qui ea quæ alicubi legerunt, ad omnia paria referre non possunt. S. Aug. con. Fulg. l. 2. initio.*

113. The *Librarian's* preliminary Attack pag. 32. is surprisingly bold. Nothing, says he, is more full of Contradictions, than this Account; and the Falshood of it appears visible to the Eyes of the World. This, in the obvious Sense of the Words, is telling us, That all the Catholicks, who have maintain'd it, were Villains

Villains, or mad Men. Sure he has now thought more seriously of the Charge: But what are his Proofs? His two first are, That the *Nag's-head* Account does not agree with the Records, and Commissions of the Queen in *Rymer*. I grant it; but *First*, this is no Contradiction in the Account it self: *Secondly*, It is not a Proof that directly regards that Account, but the Authentickness of those Commissions; and this Point has been sufficiently clear'd. *Rymer's* Records relating to the *Lambeth* Consecration of the new Bishops, are all from the same Forge, as those in the Register. If a Fact were asserted by many extremely wise and prudent Men, even after they had expressly refuted the Authority of *Abdias* of *Babylon*, if then you should urge as an Objection, That one, who has copied *Abdias*, has several Things inconsistent with that Fact, would this Objection deserve a farther Reply? The Case is here entirely parallel.

114. His third Objection is; "What Colour is there, That those Bishops, who were willing to put the best Appearance upon their *Schism*, should chuse a Tavern for this Ceremony? And that they should be so imprudent — as to let it come to the Knowledge of the Bishop of *London*? That they should admit a Person so little known as *Neal*, whom they had Reason to suspect, that he came as a Spy." Does he here mean those Bishops were only in a *Schism*? It is to be hop'd, he will speak more distinctly hereafter. As to their going to a Tavern, *Champney* has long since accounted for it, in these Words, pag. 169. *They were out of all Hopes*

*Hopes to draw the old Bishop of Landaff to their Church with them, they made no Scruple to go to such a Place as he would be content to come to. Nor can it be any Wonder, that Bishop Bonner should come to the Knowledge of the Design, both because he must needs have been attentive to their Proceedings, and it may fairly be suppos'd, That even Landaff himself would make no Secret of their Design. Again, The more unknown you suppose Neal, the less could the new Bishops suspect him for a Spy, particularly if we suppose (and this Supposition is full as likely as the contrary) That he came by the Consent, and as a Companion of Landaff. It is well however, That the Librarian is more cautious than Burnet, who by one of his Fancies, which he calls *Histories of the Reformation*, sets Neal a peeping through a Hole of the Door. But this smart Invention (tho' more tolerable, than that of making our Saviour convey his Body through the Key Hole of the Room, where the Apostles met, to avoid Penetration of Bodies) was very needless in the present Case. For, notwithstanding the ridiculous Idea, which naturally rises at the very hearing of Bishops meeting at a Tavern to be consecrated, it is to be consider'd, That the *Nag's-head* was a great and usual Place of Resort, for Numbers of considerable Clergymen and Bishops, when they met in Town, as F. Le Quisen observes from Fuller and others, pag. 218. and whether it be serious, or a Jest, That Kellison speaks of the Chapel of the Nag's-head, still it is no Wonder, That Neal, Faircloth, and some*

some others should be in the Company of *Landaff* and the new Bishops, at such a meeting as they had projected, to inveigle that unfortunate old Bishop, whose Weakness of Age, and having taken the Oath of Supremacy, made them hope he would do That there, which he had refus'd to do in a publick Church. And where *Le Courayer* adds, *Men so disposed as these Bishops are presumed to be, would never have troubled their Heads about these Ceremonies, since Consecration must appear to them very indifferent; I grant it: But he had told us just now, they were willing to put the best Appearance they could upon their Schism, and in this View they had a Mind, if possible, to have their Consecration from some Catholick Bishop. Rather privately, than not at all. And tho' it is very true which he also adds, That assuredly they might as well have had none at all, as that which they are supposed to have receiv'd: Yet it is also true, That having such Notions as they had, and being provided with a very large Supplentes nihilominus from the Queen, as they may be supposed to have had actually, or knew they could obtain; it is very rational to believe, Scory's new Ordinal would satisfy their Principles.*

115. But, says the *Librarian*, Fourthly, According to *Sanders*: *Queen Elizabeth always took Care, That Bishops were ordain'd with the Ceremonies prescribed by the Laws of the Realm*——and that there is no Doubt but this Author so very diligent to forget nothing which might tend to blacken the new Ecclesiastical Government introduced into England, would ex-
 O pose

pose an Ordination so irregular, and not have waved a Proof so very signal, so very convincing of the invalidity of their Ministry. I have quoted these Words at large, that by comparing them with what I said of *Sanders* (§. 5.) it may appear how little the *Librarian's* exactness can be depended upon. It appears from that Paragraph That *Sanders* plainly denies the solemn Consecration, and sufficiently expresses a very different one, and we have (Num. 111.) seen that *Heylin* was sensible, That he was one who had sufficiently publish'd the Tavern-Ordination. His Book *de Schismate*, does not indeed expressly mention it; but it expressly says, They were not ordain'd by the *Rites and Ceremonies* prescribed by the new Laws. It was unnecessary to name the Place; for the Place precisely, adds no new Proof to the Invalidity. To name *Neal*, or *Bonner*, or other particular Witnesses of the Tavern Business, would not only have been dangerous to those Persons, by laying them open to a *Premunire* at least, but to have loaded the Objection of their wanting Orders with the odious Circumstances that accompanied it, might have drawn greater Severities upon Catholics in general, who were already sufficiently persecuted, without adding such odious Provocations. If *Sanders* mentions some things no less odious (and upon that very Account, *Rishton* owns it was doubted, whether the publishing his History was to be hazarded in those Circumstances) yet they were such, as could not so immediately involve particular Persons in the dangerous Proof. It was sufficient, That Catho-
licks

licks loudly proclaiming the Invalidity of the new Ordinations, plainly shewed they did it upon certain Grounds, and Protestants producing no Records of them, plainly shewed they were ashamed to have the Truth known: And when the Matter began to be more particularly talk'd of, they procured an Act of Parliament to stop Peoples Mouths. How much more effectually had they stop'd them, by appealing to the Notoriety and Registers of *Lambeth*?

116. The *Fifth* Argument of *Le Courayer* pretends, That *Bonner's* threatening *Landaff* with Excommunication is *ridiculous*, because by the Oath of Supremacy he had already incurr'd it, and therefore would not much value the Excommunication. But since the *Librarian* owns, That *Landaff* was still *attach'd to the Catholick Doctrine*, it is very strange to tell us, he would not value, any farther, a particular, determinate and personal Excommunication, in a Matter of so high a Nature as a Sacrilegious Ordination. Because he had been guilty of one Crime, must he be thought to stick at Nothing? And since he is own'd to have refused acting in that Matter, why must he be thought not to value such an Excommunication? The *Librarian* has here another very strange Expression, That *Landaff* was *slow enough in siding with Schismatics against his Conscience*: Are we to understand, That They were only *Schismatics*, and That he was too slow in siding with Them? One cannot but wish this Gentleman had poised his Expressions better.

117. His *Sixth* Argument is, That *Neal's* Relation imports, That *Scory* had *no* Consecration. Now this Fact, says he, is entirely false — He was consecrated by *Cranmer* according to *King Edward's Ordinal*, and this is acknowledged by all *Historians*. But, First, This is no point of *Neal's* Relation: It is only an incident Reflection of *Champney*, as is evident by *Champney's* adding these Words, *as shall be made to appear hereafter*. Secondly, *Neal* might well have said, *Scory* had *no* Consecration; because even supposing him consecrated by the new Ordinal, he thought him invalidly ordain'd, and in this Sense he had *no* Consecration. Thirdly, By all *Historians*, the *Librarian* can only mean Protestants. For, he must know, and we shall prove hereafter, That *Catholicks* have contested *Scory's* Ordination by *Cranmer*, and the Register upon which it depends. And now, upon so weak an Objection as this, it is very odd to hear the *Librarian* make this tragical Exclamation, *One must be astonish'd to find the Author so ignorant, That his whole Relation is one continued Heap of Falshoods*. Especially, he should not have thus spoken of *Dr. Champney*, while he lays himself so open to a more just Reproach in what he adds, as a *Seventh* Argument. If this History, says he, had but the Shadow of Truth, how comes it to pass, That *Parker* was not reproached with it in his own Life Time? And why did not they attempt to prove, That this Ordination was perform'd contrary to the Laws and Rules establish'd, and by Persons not regarded as Bishops? Let us ask him a few Questions in our turn: Could he be ignorant,
That

That *Sanders*, *Harding*, *Stapleton*, *Bristow*, and others had urged over and over in exprefs Terms, That they were ordain'd by Persons not regarded as Bishops? Not to repeat their Words quoted above, do's not *Bristow* reproach *Parker* by Name, That he was only a Priest, made Bishop only by the Queen's Patent, or by a *ridiculous Ordination* of such as had no Power of ordaining? " *Exempla habemus in Anglia quam plurima, ut Parkeri, Grindalli, Sandesij, Horni, & aliorum, qui secundum Catholicum ritum olim presbyteri ordinati, idonei visi sunt, qui sine nova ordinatione non solum presbyteri essent, sed & Episcopi, & Archiepiscopi & Primates fierent, vel solis litteris Regiis, vel ridiculâ quadam ordinatione eorum, qui nullam, nisi a Regina, consecrandi potestatem acceperant.*" Can then any Thing, but want of Reflection excuse the *Librarian*? And why does he add, That *Sanders* would not have omitted the *Nag's-head* Story, *if he had had any room to prattle*? Will he join in the Cry of Protestants in *blackening* That great Man? Can no Catholick Divine or Historian avoid his Censure and his Contempt in this Debate, any more than *Champney*? If *Sanders* had said nothing inconsistent with the *Lambeth* Account, his Silence of the *Nag's-head* in it's particular Circumstances, might have been alledged with some Colour: But now to alledge it, and to alledge it with such a Flirt, what must we call it? In fine, what can be more unaccountable than to urge, That the *Nag's-head* Story *had its Birth*, as he here pretends, *in the Reign of King James I.* Let us suppose,

pose, if you so please, That it was first publish'd in Print, and in particular by *Holwood* in 1603. Yet this is *Ten Years* before *Mason's* publishing the Particulars of the Register. Why then must That be thought too late, which got the start so long before? And what could make it a *Work of Ten Years* to refute it, but that it was well rooted, and necessary Instruments were not ready?

118. The Truth of the Matter is, That as we have produced many Proofs of it's earlier Date, so it is very easy to account for it's being more particularly spoken of in *King James I.* Reign. That Prince being zealous for Episcopal Government, it behoved Protestants to think of laying a closer Claim to Ordination, and Catholics to renew their Objections, and with the most particular Circumstances. Under the milder Beginnings of his Reign they might do it with greater Security than before. They might even hope, That loudly proclaiming so singular an Instance of how little Appearance the Protestant Clergy had to true Orders, might much influence his Dispositions to a Re-union with the Church. Whereas, if it had been false, if it had been a no less new, than notorious Calumny, it must have made him more averse to Catholics. Again, when in 1610. he sent for Ministers from *Scotland* to be ordain'd, this gave a fresh Occasion of insisting upon the *Nag's-head* Story. Accordingly about that Time it was farther urged: Not as a new Thing; but, as an ancient and certain Fact. And by whom was it urged? By the wisest and learnedest of Catholics; and believed so

so firmly, That whereas *Records* and *Registers* are very apt to bear an awful Aspect, and with their venerable Air to silence at once all trifling Fables, the Register in this Case was, immediately it self, regarded less than any Fable. That very Account which the Register was to have confounded, was thought an unanswerable Proof, That the Register it self was a Forgery. In the constant Opinion of Catholicks, there were Arguments enough to judge the *English* Ordinations invalid, without any need of framing an unheard of Story; and Nothing but a full Conviction of the Truth of the Fact, could move them to insist upon it. Nor can any Thing be more weak, than to imagine with the *Librarian*, pag. 35. That the Dinner which was made at *Parker's* Confirmation is the Ground of this Story, *from whence*, says he, *it was afterwards imbellished with further Fictions*. Such Dinners were no unusual Things; and if the Truth of Facts were to be decided by conjectural Probabilities (weak Things, alas! to be opposed to positive Testimonies) one ought to judge rather, That if a private Consecration had been to be forged, Twenty better Ways would have been contrived. But Truth has fix'd the Scene where Invention would never have placed it. For, however usual such Dinners might be at that Tavern, yet nothing could less occur to any Inventive Head, than to fix a Consecration to an Inn; Nothing but strong Proofs could ever make it be believed. Where *Burnet* too, is fond of making the Confirmation Dinner, the Ground of this Story, it is worth observing how he

contradicts himself. He tells us, *Some had seen the Bishops go to that Tavern, and might imagine, That (Confirmation Dinner) was the Time of the Nag's-head Consecration.* He had said just before, *When it might be presumed, That all those Persons were dead, that had been present at Parker's Consecration, Then was the Time to invent such a Story, for Then it might be hoped that none could contradict it.* Now this is forgetting himself very soon: For, if those who *saw* the Bishops go thither at that Time, imagin'd it was the Time of the Consecration, then I presume they were not yet dead. And besides, if the Earl of *Nottingham* told a nameless Friend, That he was at *Parker's Consecration at Lambeth*, and told this in the Year 1616, then sure in 1603, *Holirwood*, who printed the *Nag's-head Account* in that Year, might rather presume several were still living, who might confute him. For, Thirteen Years is a great difference in the Age of old Men: And whatever he might think as to Persons, who had been present, he could not presume so publick a Thing, as the *Lambeth pretended Account*, could be forgot, or at least he must have known, That a Register might prove it, unless he had been well assured, That no Register could yet dare to confront the *Nag's-head Account*.

119. *Bramball*, I know, pretends, That the several Years of the *Nag's-head Story* never being refuted, is no more a Proof that it was thought a hard Matter, than That no *Cretan Author* writ against the *Cretan Bulls* is a Proof that those Fables were true. But tho' he

he often returns with his *Cretan Bulls*, and seems much pleased with the Comparison, it will do him no Service. For at length, in fine, the *Nag's-head* grew more formidable, and after *Mason's* ten Years Labour, we have had many a Volume to attack it, and no one yet has ever been at a serious Refutation of the *Cretan Bulls*. He adds, (Ibid. Ch. 7.) That before *Mason*, others proved the Succession of the Protestant Bishops, which he says, is the same Thing in Effect with refuting the *Nag's-head*. But, under favour, it is very different. *First*, Because the ancient Protestants, as appears by *Jewel*, *Fulke*, *Whitaker*, &c. defended it upon the Principle, That personal Succession from Bishops was not necessary; but That it sufficed to have Ordination from Priests, or even That a meer *Deputation* sufficed. *Secondly*, Because a general Pretence to Orders is a very different Thing from answering a particular Objection. *Thirdly*, If *That* general Pretence to Orders (such a general one as did not require personal Succession) is the same, as refuting the *Nag's-head* Story, then the Catholics general Denial of their Orders, is, by the same Rule, the same Thing, as to assert the *Nag's-head* Ordination. *Fourthly*, There is this Difference, That Protestants maintain'd their Ordination only by other general Principles (and mostly such Principles as are now abandon'd) and not by any other particular Appeal, in those early Times, to Registers or publick Notoriety of the *Lambeth* Consecration: Whereas their Ordination was denied by Catholics, not only on general Principles, but
in

in particular, because done without Ceremony, without Solemnity, without Imposition of Hands by true Bishops, in a Corner, in a ridiculous Manner, &c.

120. But says *Bramhall* again, what good could they expect from such a ridiculous Consecration? And *pag. 40.* He seems to think he has hemm'd us close in with an unextricable Dilemma. *Answer me*, says he, *did they mean to conceal it? Then what good could it do them? Or did they mean to have it publish'd? Such an Ordination would have been so far from helping them to a Bishoprick, that it would rather subject them to a Deprivation and Premunire.* I answer, there is a very large Gap in both Parts of this *Dilemma*, at which we can easily escape. They might design to conceal, as much as they could, the shameful Refusal of other Catholick Bishops, and even *Landaff's* rejecting their Proposal, and the other odd Circumstances and Consequences of it: And tho' they might easily imagine it could not be entirely concealed, yet having perhaps the Queen's *Supplentes* (as our Adversaries suppose afterwards, and we may imagine they presumed upon it before Hand) and the whole Protection of the Government being on their side, they were secure from the *Premunire*; as we find afterwards the Parliament engaged in skreening them from all Defects, and from such *bold Speeches* as People raised against their Ordination, from the Proceedings in it, contrary even to the very Ordinal, which was made for their Consecration. And it is strange, That *Bramhall* did not reflect, That the same Power which could save them from the *Premunire* of

not

not complying with the first pretended Commission, might secure them from it, in the other Irregularities, upon which they were drove by their own ill Fate, and the Necessity of their Circumstances. A Necessity which they tell us the Queen was sensible of, and provided against, by a *Suppletur — temporis & rerum necessitate postulante*. And it seems very likely, That having tried in vain to have other Catholick Bishops ordain them; and time now pressing, That they might be ready to officiate on the 9th of September, at the King of France's solemn Obsequies, they hasten'd to try their last Refuge in Landaff's Weakness; and being disappointed there too, they contented themselves with such a Consecration as agreeing well enough with their Presbyterian Principles, and supported by the Queen's Patents (which had large *Proviso's*) they judg'd sufficient, and accordingly assisted presently after, as actual Bishops, at those solemn Obsequies.

121. *Bramhall* urges farther, (pag. 24.) and he repeats it often, That *here is nothing but one single Witness nam'd, and he a profess'd Enemy, who yet never testify'd upon Oath, or before a Notary* — He adds: *Tho' a hundred did testify it from his Mouth, it is still but a single Testimony, it is plain Prattle Prattle, and ought to be valued no more than the Shadow of an Ass*. I answer (omitting the Elegance of the Expression) in the first Place, That however, this *Shadow* has cast such a Darkness upon them, as in all Probability, will never be clear'd: Even the single Testimony of *Neal*, especially since he supported it so well,

as

as to convince many of the best and wisest of Men, is of very great Moment. He was not that *obscure Man*, which the *Librarian* too, is pleas'd to represent him, but a pious and learned Priest, Professor of *Hebrew* at *Oxford*, commended for his Merit, even by Protestants, particularly in the History of that *University*. But, *Secondly*, We have shew'd, That he is not a single Witness; several others have been produced. *Thirdly*, It is very unaccountable, That *Notaries* should be expected to be call'd for, while it was hardly secure for Catholics to grieve in private, at this and other strange Proceedings of those Times. *Fourthly*, If the *Librarian* would needs join in the Protestant Cry, That the *Nag's-head* Story is all *Hearsay*, he ought at least to have had more Respect for those vast Numbers of Catholics, and many of them so learned Defenders, and so great Sufferers for their Faith, than to despise their Judgment or their Probity in crediting slightly a Story of such Consequence. F. Le Quien's Words here, pag. 113. are excellent. "If Protestants despise their Authority, the Church will respect it, and never alter her Judgment of the *English* Orders, till their Testimony is confronted with such Proofs as can leave no reasonable Doubt." *Fifthly*, Infine, as nothing but the Register can fully clear the Doubt, so we have seen that it rather confirms it; and we have Reason to be glad, That the *Librarian* has lately in the *Memoirs of Litterature*, and even in our publick News Papers, call'd for new Helps from *England*. For, we have Reason to believe, That, as hitherto it has happen'd

happen'd, so it will prove still farther, That the *Fact* of *Parker's* Consecration will grow more doubtful, the more it is sifted. Not that we wish, or think it our *Interest* to puzzle the Truth. No; I have shew'd in the Beginning of these Remarks, how great Reasons we have to wish the contrary: And may Heaven pardon Those, who either judge, or insinuate, that we are guilty of so impious a Design; but that mistaken People may be more fully awaken'd to seek the securer Way.

122. I thought once, to have taken no particular Notice of the very first Argument which *Bramhall* urges, because he in the same Breath refutes it: But since it is almost the only Argument, That seems to affect directly the Truth and Consistency of the *Nag's-head* Relation, and some may not readily perceive that he himself has answer'd it, let us hear him. He pretends the Catholick Writers vary in their Account. Most say, *Scory* only perform'd the Work; others doubt whether *Barlow* did not assist him, and doubt also of the Names and Persons, who were present, or consecrated. After he had call'd these Variations by the Name of Contradictions, he immediately observes, in express Terms, That naming a Place amiss, or to name two Suffragans for one, are immaterial Differences, remote from the Heart of the Cause, insignificant Variations, that rather prove the Relations were not made by Compact or Confederacy. Thus he obligingly shews, That the *Nag's-head* Relation may be true, tho' some, only name *Scory* as the Performer,

Performer, while others, doubt whether *Barlow* did not assist, nor are positive, how many of the new Bishops were consecrated at that Time. And where is the Contradiction in one Man's saying, *Scory* did it, and another's saying, he does not know whether *Barlow* assisted, and a third, That he cannot precisely name all that were present? If, indeed, they had all pretended to copy the Relation from a Register, these Variations would appear considerable, and incline one to suspect the Pretence of a Record; But in relating a Passage by Tradition, they cannot affect the Substance. Whereas naming *Richard* for *John* is in any Court, enough to quash an Indictment, and reject a Writing or Commission. I cannot therefore see why *Bramhall* would put That for an Objection, which he first answers in our Case, and cannot answer in his own. And now, having consider'd the Arguments *pro* and *con*, with Repard to the two opposite Accounts of *Parker's* Consecration, we may fairly conclude, That the *Lambeth* Account is much the less probable of the two. The Multiplicity of the Facts have made the Remarks upon this one Chapter of the *Librarian* so large, That I will not swell them farther by a Recapitulation, hoping the distinct Heads to which I have reduced them, will make it obvious to the Reader, to compare the Grounds of both sides, and at the same Time to observe how imperfectly (I will not say how unfairly) the *Librarian* has stated the Comparison between them, while he has scarce taken any Notice of the least Part of our Proofs

Proofs against the *Lambeth* Account, or of our Answers to the Objections against That of the *Nag's-head*, or our Arguments for it.

C H A P. VI.

Remarks upon F. Le Courayer's, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Chapters of Barlow's Consecration.

123. **B**arlow was the Man to whom *Parker*, according to the Register, was presented, as the principal Consecrator: And as the *Librarian*, and most, even of his Protestant Friends, grant, That if the principal Consecrator's Orders are themselves doubtfull, the Validity of the Orders, he is pretended to give, must be also doubtfull. This makes it necessary indeed, to the *Librarian's* Design, to endeavour to clear *Barlow's* Consecration: But why he should be twice as large upon this Point, in this, and the two following Chapters, as in both the *Lambeth* and *Nag's-head* Account in the first Chapter, is what one would not easily imagine. For if *Barlow's* Consecration could be demonstratively proved, still if the Acts of *Parker's* Consecration were doubtfull, all That Pains for *Barlow's*, would be in Vain. But of all Reasons one would least imagine the *Librarian* would give this, That *few People at present dispute the Authentickness of those Acts.* (pag. 48.) On the contrary, how is it possible he should be

be ignorant, That the Acts of *Parker's* Consecration are more disputed than ever ; and the more Pieces of those Acts are publish'd, the more they daily sink deeper into new Suspicions. And now we shall see, That the *Librarian*, by multiplying Pieces in Favour of *Barlow's* Consecration, has not clear'd, but multiplied the Doubts, both of His, and of *Parker's*.

§. 1.

None of the Librarian's Arguments in his Third Chapter, prove Barlow's Consecration, and several of them, disprove it.

124. No one can suspect Mr. *Stephens*, late of *Cherrington* in *Gloucestershire*, of Partiality in Favour of Catholicks. And, however whimsical he may be thought in other Respects, yet he has put the Doubt of *Barlow's* Consecration in a strong Light. Thus speaks this *Protestant Minister* in his great *Question*, pag. 4. " It is a wonderfull Thing by what
 " Chance or Providence it happen'd, That
 " *Barlow's* Consecration, who was the principal Actor in This, should no where appear, nor any positive Proof of it be found,
 " in more than fourscore Years since it was
 " first question'd, by all the Search that could
 " be made by so many learned, curious and
 " industrious Persons ; as Mr. *Mason* employ'd
 " by the Arch-Bishop, and all the Assistants
 " he had in his Time, whose Book was
 " printed in 1613. and again, with Additions,
 " 1625, and 1638. Bishop *Bramhall*, and all
 " the

“ the Assistance he could procure in his Time,
 “ about the Year 1657; Dr. *Burnet*, encouraged
 “ by the Parliament 1679, and all the Helps
 “ and many Assistants he had; and the in-
 “ defatigable Mr. *Wharton*, who had corrected
 “ and discovered so many Faults, Overights
 “ and Mistakes in others before him; besides
 “ many others, That ever he was consecrated
 “ at all. It is true, Bishop *Godwin*, Bishop
 “ of *Hereford* says, That he was consecrated
 “ Feb. 22. 1535. but says, neither where, nor
 “ by whom, nor produceth, or so much as
 “ refers to any Evidence or Proof of what
 “ he saith. And tho’ Bishop *Bramhall* would
 “ infer from thence, That it was in *Wales*,
 “ and the Bishop of *Hereford* might know
 “ something of it; yet both Mr. *Mason* and
 “ Mr. *Wharton* agree and prove, That what
 “ he says cannot be true, (he has been
 “ found faulty in more Things than this;
 “ but this he would undoubtedly have
 “ clear’d, if he could.) *Mason* and *Bram-*
 “ *hall* take much Pains to prove it by *Cir-*
 “ *cumstances* and *Probabilities*, for That all
 “ Things were done for him, and to him, and
 “ by him, that belong to a true and compleat
 “ Bishop, except only, That of Consecration;
 “ and from the Concatenation of our *English*
 “ Customs; especially from the *Restitution* of
 “ his *Temporalities*, which they would have
 “ us believe is always after Consecration:
 “ But whatever it ought to be, either by
 “ Law or Custom, it was not then always so ob-
 “ serv’d, as before, that in the Case of *Stokesly*,
 “ Bishop of *London*, who had his Tempora-
 “ lities, July 14. 1530. and was not conse-
 “ crated

“ crated till *November 27.* after, (*Wharton*
 “ de Episc. London. pag. 189.) and since,
 “ twice in the Case of *Bonner*, who, elected
 “ Bishop of *Hereford*, had Restitution of his
 “ Temporalities to his Proctor, while he him-
 “ self was yet beyond Sea; and afterwards elec-
 “ ted Bishop of *London*, had his Temporalities,
 “ *Nov. 18. 1539.* and yet was not consecrated
 “ till *April. 4. 1540.* Nor is it more strange,
 “ That of all the Acts necessary for that Pur-
 “ pose the Consecration should be omitted,
 “ and especially at that Time when it was
 “ set so light by, than That of all the *Re-*
 “ *ords* and Entries of those Acts, That only
 “ of the Consecration, if there had been any,
 “ should be wanting, when all the other *Acts*
 “ appear in their proper Courts, as *Bram-*
 “ *hall* tells us, pag. 482. — He was elected
 “ *Jan. 16. 1535-6.* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and
 “ confirm’d the 23d, and about the same
 “ Time was in the King’s Service in *Scot-*
 “ *land*; *Legationem apud Scotiæ Regem, ab*
 “ *Henrico Angliæ Rege missus, obiit*, says
 “ **Wharton:** and *April 10* following, was elec-
 “ ted Bishop of *St. David’s*, the Translation
 “ confirm’d by the Archbishop the 21st, and
 “ the Temporalities restored the 26th of the
 “ same Month: But the Record mentions
 “ nothing of any Consecration preceding,
 “ but his Election and Confirmation by the
 “ Archbishop only: *Ipsūq; sic electum Epif-*
 “ *copum prædictæ Ecclesiæ Menevensis præfecit.*
 “ The short Space between his Election to
 “ *St. Asaph’s*, and Translation to *St. David’s*,
 “ and his Absence in *Scotland*, might well
 “ prevent his Consecration for that Time,
 “ and

“ and the Translation, especially if he con-
 “ tinued any considerable Time in *Scotland*,
 “ make his Consecration when he came home,
 “ never question’d or thought of, especially
 “ having his Spiritualities by the Archbishop’s
 “ Confirmation, and his Temporalities re-
 “ stored by the King: And it is like enough
 “ he might concur with the Archbishop in
 “ slight Thoughts of such a *Formality*. For
 “ whatever was his *Learning*, it seems, his
 “ *Virtue* was so little, and the Offence That
 “ He and *Scory* had given by their Beha-
 “ viour, so great, That they were never so
 “ much as restor’d by Queen *Elizabeth* to
 “ their former Sees, but put into meaner
 “ ones, as the Historian informs us in his
 “ *Abridgment*, pag. 250. Nor would she be
 “ crown’d by either of them, tho’ she could
 “ hardly get any other to do it.”

125. What Mr. *Stephens* here tells us, makes
 it evident, That after the most diligent and
 industrious Search, No Register or Record of
Barlow’s Consecration can yet be found. More-
 over, it is certain, he had not Consecration
 at any of those Times, to which our Adver-
 saries assign it. *Godwin* says, he was con-
 secrated 22 Feb. 1535-6. But *Wharton*, an
 Author in great Esteem for his Accuracy
 (*Hist. de Episc. Assavenfibus*, pag. 361.) posi-
 tively affirms, *fieri nequaquam potuit*, he could
 not be consecrated then, and proves too, be-
 cause Confirmation precedes Consecration, &
ante diem 23 confirmatum non esse, constat. *Strype*
 (*Cranmer’s Memorials*, pag. 37.) puts *Bar-*
low’s Consecration on the 26th of Sept. 1535.
 But this is certainly false; and *Le Courayer*
 confesses

confesses it, (Ch. 3.) for he was not confirmed or elected Bishop till three or four Months after. *Williams*, and *Le Courayer*, altho' they fix no Day, yet say, he must have been consecrated within 20 Days after his Confirmation, *Feb. 23. Henry VIII.* having made it a *Pramunire*, to delay Consecration longer. But *Le Courayer's* English Correspondent, upon whom he sets a high Value, and quotes in his Appendix, pag. 379. comes in here Evidence against him. His Words are, *Tres quippe solummodo Episcopus observavi, qui his ducentis annis proxime elapsis, ad secundas sedes transferint, antequam ad priores consecrati fuissent; Horum primus est Barlovius ille, de quo agitur.* Therefore on the 10th and 21st of *April*, when *Barlow* was chosen and confirm'd Bishop of *St. David's*, his second See, he was not yet consecrated to *St. Asaph's*, and consequently not within Twenty Days after the 23d of *February*, when he was confirm'd Bishop of his first See. Another Proof of *Barlow's* not being consecrated within Twenty, or twice Twenty Days after his Confirmation to *St. Asaph*, is his Absence, at that Time, and Stay in *Scotland*. For he was no more than *Elect* of *St. Asaph*, when he was sent thither: *Doctor William Barlow, the King's Chaplain, and Elect Brother of St. Asaph, being join'd in Commission with Thomas Holcroft to James King of Scotland labour'd, &c.* says my Lord *Herbert*, in the Life of *Henry VIII.* pag. 395. And *Wharton de Episc. Aflavensibus*, pag. 360. says of him, *Quo circiter tempore Episcopatum (Aflavensem) obtinuit, Legationem apud Scotie Regem, ab Henrico*

rico Anglie Rege missus, obtinuit. And *Le Courayer's* English Correspondent (Appendix pag. 361.) tells us, *Barlovius confirmatus fuit Episcopus Assaensis* 23 Februarij 1535; *Absentum erat ab Urbe, in Regijs negotijs extra regnum occupatus. Hinc Confirmatio ejus per Procuratorem facta.* Therefore, 'tis certain, That *Barlow* on the 23d of February, when he was confirm'd Bishop of *St. Asaph*, was absent in *Scotland*, and consequently was not consecrated Bishop when he went thither. It seems also certain, That the King's Business must have kept *Barlow* in *Scotland* two or three Months at least. *Henry VIII's* Intention in this Embassy, according to the Account my Lord *Herbert* gives of it, was to bring over to his Interest and Sentiments his Nephew, *James King of Scotland*, and to induce him to abrogate the *Papal Jurisdiction* in his Dominions. For, *Henry* expecting War from several Hands, as the Pope had threatned, endeavour'd by those Means to draw his Nephew on his Side. Accordingly, *Barlow* and *Holcroft*, upon their Arrival in *Scotland*, labour'd to give *James* all Manner of Impressions, which might bring him to Conformity: And when Words would not do, they presented him a Memorial, intreating him to read over their Arguments, and consider them. Notwithstanding, *James* referr'd them to his Clergy. *Henry* having Notice of this, appointed some learned Men to help his Ambassadors in their Conference with the Clergy; but They, together with the learned Men were rejected: Thereupon another Express was sent to acquaint him with their bad Success.

He immediately dispatch'd the Lord *William Howard*, Brother to the Duke of Norfolk, joining him in Commission with *Barlow*, and ordering them to make James divers advantageous Propositions, and withal to draw him to an Interview. They press him to it. But James, being by no means inclined to meet his Uncle, sent to Rome to procure, by a private Messenger, a Breve from the Pope, inhibiting this Journey, so that to the Receipt thereof he was forced to make other Excuses, pretending he denied not a meeting with King Henry, but only desired it might be in France, in the French King's Presence, and not in the English Dominions. These excuses increasing Henry's Jealousy of his Nephews Intentions, he made some other Overtures, offering to create him Duke of York, and leave him Successor in his Kingdom, in Case he conform'd to him for the rest; but his Clergy being utterly avers'd, dissuaded him. Nevertheless, in May following, 1536. James acquainted King Henry, That he intended to write to the Pope for Leave to reform some Abuses. Henry was in some Manner satisfied with this, and gave a safe Conduct to the Messenger, hoping he would not be so soon drawn to assist his Enemies. But James had other Designs, and having no Disposition to the Interview, set sail for France, on the 26th of July 1536. This is my Lord Herbert's Account of this Affair, pag. 395. 396. The Scotch Historian, Author of the Lives of five Kings of Scotland, called James, speaking of his King's Departure on the 26th of July, pag. 309. says, *Amidst the Importunities and Solicitations of these Ambassadors,*

sadors, the King of Scotland set sail for France, with five Men of War, well armed and equipped. All this makes it pretty clear, That *Barlow* did not leave *Scotland* before the King's Departure on the 26th of *July*. However, it seems certain, That so many weighty Proposals he was to make at different Times to the *Scotch* King, a Memorial to be drawn up and presented to the King, with Time given him to consider the Arguments; the King's great Aversness to the Proposals, and the Excuses and Delays he made in giving an Answer; the great Opposition he met with all along from the Clergy; four or five (if not more) Expresses sent from *Sterlin* to *London*, and as many sent back with new Instructions; the Journey of the learned Men sent to assist *Barlow* in his Conference with the *Scotch* Clergy, and of the Lord *William Howard* join'd with him in Commission; in fine, the private Messenger's Journey to *Rome* to procure a *Breve* from the Pope, and the young King's Excuses, with which he amused the Ambassadors, in Expectation of an Answer: It seems, I say certain, That all these Things must have kept *Barlow* in *Scotland* for two or three Months at least. Nor is it less certain, That he was not consecrated Bishop during his Stay in *Scotland*. For, supposing his King's Affairs of the highest Importance, and the insuperable Difficulties he met with in them, could have allowed any Time to think of a Consecration, which is not very likely; it is, at least, highly improbable, That the zealous Catholick Bishops of *Scotland*, who

opposed him on all Occasions, who look'd upon him, and detested him as a Schismatick and Heretick, sent to pervert their King, and draw him and his whole Realm from the Union of the Catholick Church, should ever be brought to consecrate him Bishop. Since therefore *Barlow*, when he came into *Scotland*, was not yet consecrated, and no more than a confirm'd Bishop, stay'd in *Scotland* two or three Months at least, and was not consecrated during his Stay there; it manifestly follows, he was not consecrated within Twenty, or twice Twenty Days after his Confirmation. Out of what has been here said, it is certain, That no Register, or Record of *Barlow's* Consecration can yet be found, altho' all other Acts relating to him appear in their proper Courts. We have likewise fully prov'd, That he was not consecrated at any of the Times our Adversaries say he was consecrated; nor before he went into *Scotland*, or during his Stay there; and seeing there is no mention of his being consecrated afterwards, or after his Return out of *Scotland*; we have all Reason to conclude he was *never* consecrated.

126. The Strength of these Arguments will much encrease by the following Remarks upon *Le Courayer's* Defence. After he had cited *Godwin* for a Proof of *Barlow's* Consecration, he adds, pag. 50. *not to insist upon this Testimony of Godwin, I proceed to others less suspected and more certain.* He should have fairly said, That the Testimony of *Godwin* is not only suspected, but clearly false,

as

as *Wharton* says and proves. Moreover, *Godwin* says positively, that *Barlow* was consecrated *Feb. 22. 1535*, whereas the Commission (in the *Appendix* pag. 361.) is only dated that 22d of *February*. And I presume he will not pretend the Consecration was perform'd the very same Day, that the Commission for it was issued out. And now, what are the more certain Testimonies? *All the World*, says he, pag. 50. is sufficiently apprised of Mr. *Wharton's Exactness* in his *Anglia Sacra*. Let his Exactness be granted. Does *Wharton* here say any Thing of *Barlow's* Consecration? Not a Word: he only says *Godwin's* Account of his Consecration on the 22d of *February* cannot be true, because *ante diem 23. Confirmatum non esse, constat*. And this too (for all his Exactness) was very quick Work, to confirm him the very Day after the Commission for it was granted. The Author of the *Fasti Ecclesie Anglicane*, who appears to have labour'd with great Exactness among the most authentick Memoirs, as the *Librarian* is pleas'd to say (who is seldom pleas'd to allow any Exactness to Catholicks in this Debate) is cited to the same little Purpose. For he also, only speaks of the Confirmation on the same 23d *February*, by the same quick Work. The *Librarian* grants indeed, That they both speak only of the Confirmation: Yet, says he, his Consecration could not be long delay'd, because *Henry* the Eighth made it a *Premunire* to delay it above twenty Days. And what is this but at most a Presumption, and a very weak one? For, how easily did *Henry* the

the Eighth break through all Laws, and dispense with his Favourites ? He dispensed twice with *Bonner*, who elected and confirm'd Bishop of *Hereford*, kept that Bishoprick almost a Year without Consecration; afterwards elected and confirm'd Bishop of *London*, was not consecrated of some Months after. Those Dispensations were granted to *Bonner*, because at that time he was employ'd in the King's Business beyond Sea; and there was the same Reason to dispense with *Barlow*, who when he was confirm'd Bishop of *St. Asaph*, *Ab-sens tum erat ab Urbe, in Regijs negotijs extra regnum occupatus*, as the Librarian might have learn'd from his *English Correspondent* Append. p. 361. Mr. *Strype* also (continues the Librarian) in the Life of *Cranmer*, without Hesitation places the Consecration of *Barlow* in the Year 1535. But alas! Mr. *Strype* often runs without Hesitation into numberless Mistakes. Even Mr. *Williams* (pag. 53.) tells us in a marginal Note, *few Writers have committed more Mistakes than Mr. Strype has done*; and he adds, *I have ocular Demonstration that his very numerous Escapes would make a competent Volume*. A little Hesitation would have done him Good, but what Good can he now do to any Cause, especially to This, in which the Librarian owns he is mistaken in placing *Barlow's* Consecration on the 26th of *September*? To what Purpose then is he cited?

127. To the Argument against *Barlow's* Consecration, drawn from its not being found in *Cranmer's Register*, *Le Courayer* answers pag.

51. That it is no *decisive* Proof, because several others, particularly *Gardiner's*, is not to be found in the Registers of *Canterbury*, and yet is no less certain for that Reason. But he should have added, That it is neither found there, nor any where else, notwithstanding the utmost Diligence in searching after it. He should have given some Proof, That no unfair Methods have purloin'd *Gardiner's* Consecration Act, to colour the want of *Barlow's*. He should have added, That *Gardiner's* was never question'd, and that no concurrent Proofs give any Suspicion that he was not consecrated. There is therefore a great Disparity between them: But says he, pag. 52. *There are positive Facts which supply the Silence of that Register.* The first he produces, is the *Premunire* already mention'd. Can one help calling this a delusive Way of arguing, first to promise us *more evident* Proofs than those he had produc'd, and then to give us the very same again? However, let us add to what we just now reply'd, That considering *Cranmer's* Authority on one Hand, and his Notions of Ordination on the other, he might very easily skreen himself and others from the *Premunire*, by a pretended Ordination. But tho' this *Premunire* is no new Proof, it gives a new Occasion to shew very evidently, how little the *Librarian's* Proofs can be valu'd.

128. *Le Courayer* pag. 54. grants, That the Argument from *Barlow's* being restor'd to his Temporalities is too weak to be insisted upon, because our Kings have often dispens'd with

with the Usage of not doing that, till after Consecration. But why then did he insert the Act of Restitution in his Records? Was it to make a Shew of a Multitude of Pieces, whether they were solid Proofs or no? But I am much more sorry to be forc'd to ask another Question; Who he means here by *those who are interested to confute the most solid Arguments?* Whoever, and whatever he means by these Words, I am sure at least, there is no Need of being wickedly sway'd by Interest, to see that the next Argument, which he draws from the Custom of Bishops not sitting in Parliament till after Consecration, is far from being so strong as he seems to imagine. *If it is not, says he, demonstrative, it is at least solid enough to form the strongest Presumption in favour of Barlow's Consecration.* There was no need of his multiplying Proofs, That Bishops do not usually take their Seats in Parliament till they are consecrated. No Body doubts it; but we have disprov'd, and he has disprov'd for us, all the Accounts that pretend *Barlow* was consecrated within the twenty Days. The same Collusion therefore, the same Arts, the same Favour and Dispensation, which secured *Him* and *Cramer* from the *Premunire*, would equally make *Barlow* be allowed his Seat in Parliament. When once a Man has gone through the first Steps of a Bishop, after a real, or a supposed Consecration, those things which follow of Course after such first Steps, are no new Argument of his Consecration. The same Things which concealed the Defect at first, might

might keep it concealed afterwards, till it came to be farther questioned. I grant therefore, That such consequent *Facts*, as sitting in Parliament, are a Presumption of a Bishop's Consecration, where there is no particular Reason to call it in Question, because it is presum'd he has gone through the usual Qualifications: But, where *these* come to be doubted of, such consequent *Facts*, are no longer a solid Proof. Thus, the Possession of an Estate forms a Presumption of a Title: But when a Flaw is found in the Title, the Possession he had, and his acting as Owner of the Estate, is no longer a Proof of his Title. This is *Barlow's* Case: He is pretended to have a Title to Orders, from a Consecration given him within twenty Days of the 23d of *February* 1535. Upon Examination, this is found to be false. Consequently the Sequels of that first Sham, are no longer any sufficient Proof of his Orders. *Granmer's* Authority might give him favourable Testimonials; the Principles of Both, made them very heedless of true Ordination; *Barlow's* Absence, and his private Consecration, which his Friends are forc'd to suppose, gave large Opportunities of being a Bishop, the Lord knows how. And this same Reply will hold to the *Librarian's* Argument from *Barlow's* sitting in *Synods* and *Convocations*, as Bishop; and to that which pag. 57. he calls, *something stronger*. Just before we had the *strongest*, now *something stronger*: What is it? Why, there is a Mandate to *Barlow* for consecrating *Buckley*. Since then, says he,
Henry

Henry the Eighth would have the old Way of ordaining observ'd, would he have suffer'd an unconsecrated Bishop to have consecrated another? Now, this which is call'd *stronger* than the *strongest*, is but just the very same Presumption as the former, and no new Proof. If Henry the Eighth was deceived by Cranmer, who often deceived him, it is no Wonder he supposed Barlow was ordained, and employ'd him as such. Or if you suppose he knew the Heretical Opinions of them both in Regard of Ordination, and supported them from being prosecuted, you must equally allow he skreen'd them from being prosecuted upon any Suspicions of Barlow's wanting Ordination, and Cranmer's being privy to the Sham. To shew, That we do not make an Arbitrary Estimate of Cranmer's Power with That unhappy Prince (particular unhappy in such a Favorite) it will not be improper to observe, That Mr. Collier, pag. 168. tells us, That when Cranmer boldly opposed the *six Articles*, An. 1539. in Parliament, notwithstanding this Freedom, he did not lose the King's Favour: That the King to relieve Cranmer under the Mortification of the Act by which the *six Articles* pass'd, sent for him, gave him Assurance of his Favour, sent also the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Lord Cromwel to him, who according to the King's Instructions, assured him of his Favour. Mr. Collier adds, That Cromwel then added, That Cranmer was particularly happy in the King's good Opinion: For let the Information have never so strong Colours, the King threw

threw it off without farther Notice, at first hearing. The Author of *Antiq. Britannicæ* has this same Account.

129. There needs no farther Answer, than what has been already said, to the *Librarian's Question*, pag. 58. *Why was not Barlow consecrated in Queen Elizabeth's Time by Parker, but, That he was consecrated before?* The same Reasons, which had made him pass for a Bishop before, might make him pass for such, Then also. Not only his being a real one, but his being a *supposed* Bishop, was Reason enough not to consecrate him at that Time, especially, since Then, a small matter was enough to make a Bishop. Let us then pass to the next Argument, which the *Librarian* calls (pag. 59.) a *fresh Proof*, viz. That in *Queen Mary's* Reign, if *Barlow* had not been consecrated, his See would have been declared Vacant, *ob nullitatem consecrationis ejus*, as is said of *Taylor*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; whereas in several Records it is said, Vacant, *per liberam & spontaneam resignationem D. W. Barlow, ultimi Episcopi & Pastoris ejusdem*. Now this, says he, has never been the Style given to any but consecrated Bishops. And (pag. 90.) having added from the *Canterbury Register*, That he was oblig'd to make the Resignation, upon Account of his being married, he concludes; this Argument may be look'd upon as a Demonstration. For since a Vacancy by Resignation supposes the resigning Bishop consecrated, and the Deposition is assigned to his Marriage, it evidently follows, That these Records, which prove
Barlow's

Barlow's *Resignation*, do evidently prove his *Consecration*. I am suspicious of Men, who (except in *Mathematicks*) are free, in calling their Arguments *Demonstrations*. He may indeed be the rather allowed to talk of Evidence, because unless he can *Demonstrate* away our Doubts of the *English Orders*, he does Nothing. But let us examine this *Demonstration*, so call'd. It is reduced to this: *A Vacancy by Resignation supposes the resigning Bishop consecrated*. Alas! this is a sad Fall from a *Demonstration* to a *Supposition*. I grant him a *supposed Bishop*. As such, he resign'd. His *Resignation* is Register'd. All this is Nothing of a *fresh Proof* of his *Consecration*. The Records of his *Resignation*, of which a needless Stir is made, leave the Point of his *Consecration* just where it was. For a *Vacancy* may happen upon many Accounts, and when a Record mentions but one Reason, it cannot be inferr'd from thence, That there might not have been others alledg'd. In *Barlow's Case* it is certain, his See might have been declar'd void for his *Heresies* and other Crimes. And because the Record of his *Resignation* does not mention it, can this be call'd a *Demonstration*, That he was not look'd upon to be a *Heretick*? This is a strange Way of demonstrating. It would as well demonstrate away all other Crimes, but those which were specify'd in the Sentence of such as end at *Tyburn*. As then the Records declaring *Barlow's See* vacant, upon Account of his being married, and his notorious *Heresies*, shew, That he might be
deprived,

deprived, tho' other Records mention only, That he *resigned*; and as these neither prove he was not married, nor a Heretick, so they do not prove that his Consecration was allow'd: And whether his Want of Consecration was then sufficiently known, or not, still it is clear that their Silence of his Consecration is no Demonstration that he was consecrated. The *Librarian* too grants, That the Mandate to confirm his Successor *Bourne* says, the See was vacant by the *Deprivation and Removal* of *Barlow*. As therefore the Records, which only mention his Resignation do not prove he was not depriv'd, so they do not prove he was consecrated. Nor does it follow, as he pretends, That the Sentence of Deprivation would have been omitted as unnecessary, if it had not been known, That he was consecrated. For, as his Deprivation was thought necessary, notwithstanding his Resignation, so it might be judged necessary, altho' his Want of Consecration had been known, upon Account of his former Nomination, Confirmation, and Possession. Shall I add here, That *Burnet* by one of his numberless Mistakes or Contrivances, would have it, That *Barlow* was never married? One knows not how to think he could be ignorant of so particular a Thing related by *Fuller*, as *Barlow's* having five Daughters married to five Bishops. His Wife's Epitaph is remarkable, and I remember this last Part of it.

——— *Quinque suarum*
Præsulibus vidit, Præsulis ipsa, datas.

Q

§ 2.

§. 2.

The Answers he gives, in his fourth and fifth Chapter, to the Arguments against Barlow's Consecration, rather confirm than diminish the Doubt.

130. He begins this Chapter with repeating the pretended Proofs of the former, which have been sufficiently refuted, and yet will be still farther refuted. But most certainly there is not any need at all to refute him, when he here suggests, That we deny *Barlow's*, as we do *Parker's* Consecration, *merely from the Interest we have, they should be false.* Such Expressions are extremely inconsiderate or extremely unchristian. As to the Argument some take from a Mandate of Queen *Elizabeth*, which orders *Barlow* to be consecrated, he Answers; *First*, That the Word *Consecrare* is often used in Mandates for confirming the Translation of Bishops, who were certainly consecrated before. *Secondly*, In That Mandate the Word *Consecrare* is not in the Original, but added, by Want of Exactness in *Rymer*. We need not be concern'd to reply to his Proofs of these two Points, since neither the Nature of these Remarks require a Reply to every Particular, nor can it be supposed we must needs maintain all the Arguments, which ever any one has thought to have some Force. No *Interest* can oblige us to This: And it were very strange, if in

a Dispute of any length, no Arguments were used, which may be insufficient. The same I might say of the Answers he gives to the Record, which calls *Barlow* only *Elect* of *St. Asaph* when he was now Bishop of *St. David's*; from whence it seems to follow, That he was not then consecrated. But not to omit some important Remarks upon what the *Librarian* says upon This, and some other Heads relating to *Barlow's* Consecration, and to shew, That he has rather prejudiced his Cause, I will add some farther Observations.

131. In *Rymer, Tom. 14. pag. 570.* There is an Act of *Henry VIII.* to licence the Election of one in *Barlow's* Room to the Bishoprick of *St. Asaph*, which is there said to be vacant *per liberam transmutationem Willielmi Barlow ultimi Episcopi ibidem electi*—*Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium. 29. Die Maij 1536. per Breve de privato Sigillo.* Another to consecrate *Warton* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, with these Words again, *vacante sede Episcopali Assavensi per liberam transmutationem Willielmi Barlow ultimi Episcopi ibidem Electi*—*24 Die Junij.* But, if *Barlow* had been consecrated Bishop of *St. Asaph* before his Translation, these Acts would not have call'd him *Elect*, but absolutely *Bishop*, it being without Example in the like Acts, That a Bishop transferr'd from a See, to which he was consecrated, is ever call'd *Elect*, in Respect of That See. He is call'd *Elect*, tho' already consecrated, in Respect of that See to which he is transferr'd, but never in Respect of the other, if

already consecrated to it. The Example which *Le Courayer* brings, is of *Juxon*, who was elected to succeed *Godwin* in the See of *Hereford*; and before he was consecrated or enstalled, was translated to *London*, and consecrated in his new Bishoprick. Nevertheless, four Months after his Consecration, is stil'd *Bishop Elect*, in the Act for consecrating his Successor *Austin Lyndsell* in the See of *Hereford*. But it is a Wonder, That *Le Courayer* did not perceive this Example makes against him. For, in that Act, *Godwin* consecrated Bishop of *Hereford*, is stiled Bishop absolutely, and without Restriction; and *Juxon*, who never was consecrated Bishop of *Hereford*, is only call'd *Elect* of that Place. It is true, *Juxon* was consecrated when *Lyndsell* was made Bishop of *Hereford*; but the Act speaks of him as he was, when Bishop of *Hereford*, and Then he was not consecrated, and never was more than *Elect* of *Hereford*: And for the same Reason *Barlow* is call'd only *Elect* of *St. Asaph*, because no more than *Elect* of that See, when he was translated thence. A Bishop may be called *Elect* with Respect to a See in which he was never enstalled: And this is all that *Champney* and *Ward* (cited by *Le Courayer*) affirm. But it is unheard of, That a Bishop is call'd *Elect* in Respect of the See from which he is translated, if already consecrated to That very Bishoprick. In Acts of Investiture or Restitution of Temporalities, a Bishop, tho' already consecrated, may be stiled *Electus* or *Confirmatus* in Respect of the Bishoprick he is going

going to be put in Possession of. Nor do we dispute the Examples of this Kind, alledged by *Le Courayer*: But he grants no Act of this Kind can be produced, in which a Bishop, when translated, is styled *Elect*, if he was consecrated to that Bishoprick before: And this is *Barlow's* Case. This therefore confirms the Proofs brought, That he was not consecrated to *St. Asaph's*.

132. Upon Occasion of *Le Courayer's* urging, That *Barlow* was summon'd to Parliament as Bishop, it is very observable, That *Le Courayer* has used a little *Legerdemain*, in proposing that Argument. For, in the Summons in *Rymer* (Tom. 14. pag. 563. and 737.) from whence *Le Courayer* pretends to take them, the first Letter of the Bishop's Name is put before the Word *Archiepiscopo*, and *Episcopo*, thus:

In the first Act.	E. Archiep. Ebor.	In the second Act.	E. Archiep. Ebor.
	G. Episcopo London.		E. Episcopo London.
	and after a dozen others.		and after a dozen others.
	Episcopo Bangoren.		T. Meneven.
	T. Meneven.		W. Norwic.
			R. Landay.

But *Le Courayer*, in reciting these Acts, leaves out the first Letters of the Bishops Names. And why? His design was to shew, That in those Acts dated April 27. 1536. and November 23. 1541. *Barlow* was summon'd as *Menevensis Episcopus*, and therefore was then a consecrated Bishop. But he saw very well, That the T. did not signify *William*, which

was *Barlow's* Name; but to mean Him, it should have been *W. Epif. Meneven.* as in the second Act it is *W. Norwic.* It seems therefore, That to adjust Matters, he thought fit to suppress the fatal *T.* and That the Slight might not appear, he has likewise suppress'd the initial Letters of the other Names. Is this exact and square Dealing? But however, I add, That altho' this indirect Way of Proceeding is by no Means warrantable, yet I do not deny, That *Barlow* was then titular Bishop of *St. David's.* Yet we have already seen, That it does not follow from his sitting in Parliament, That he was consecrated. Especially, since he might have his Temporalities before Consecration, as appears by the Case of *Stokesly* and *Bonner* (N. 124.) And it is by their Temporalities that they have Seats in Parliament; since also it's very strange, That *Henry VIII.* should be thought to scruple (especially with a Favourite connived at, and seconded by *Cranmer* in the Sham) at letting him have a Seat in Parliament, while That King himself assumed the Power of giving Commissions to consecrated Bishops to govern their Diocesses as his Vicars. Can such a Prince be thought very Sollicitous about Ordination? We shall also see, That King *Edward VI.* was still less concern'd for it. As to Queen *Mary's* Days, it was not her Design to question his Consecration, tho' never so doubtful; but to deprive, of his Bishoprick, a Man so very unworthy of that sacred Dignity; This she might do lawfully and effectually for his sacri-

sacrilegious and notorious Marriage. He saw This could not be denied, and That it was his best Way to submit by resigning. If he had been proceeded against as no true Bishop, he might have pretended, That his Consecration was performed Eighteen Years before; and naming for his Consecrators Persons dead long since, it might have been a long Business to convict him of Forgery. The Queen therefore, tho' she had very good Reasons to judge him no true Bishop, yet did wisely to wave that Question, while she lawfully and effectually deprived him for a Crime that could bear no Dispute. We may add, That, as *Mr. Collier* relates, *Barlow* retracted his Heresies, reprinted a Book he had formerly writ against the new Heresies, made a bitter Preface to it, pretended a thorough Conversion: He afterwards relapsed, or rather, as *Mr. Collier* owns, acted a vile Part against Conscience in the whole Pretence: However, This might very well incline the Queen to wave, for the present, at least, the Proceeding against him as no Bishop; especially, since as *Mr. Collier* adds, she avoided as much as she could, proceeding against the Bishops upon such Indictments, as would require any long and noisy Prosecutions at Law.

133. As to the Examples which *Le Cou- rayer* brings to shew, That the Word *Conse- crate* is often used in Commissions for the Translation of Bishops already consecrated, and often omitted in Mandates for new Bi- shops never consecrated, it can scarce be expected we should credit all those Particulars, upon

his bare Word, and his Protestant Agents. But, however That may be, it is certain, That Queen *Elizabeth's* styling *Barlow nuper Episcopum Bathon.* in her Commission for the See of *Chichester*, is a very weak Proof, that he was consecrated before. When no Catholick Bishop could be had to consecrate *Parker*, she was forced to use *Barlow*, who bearing the Title of Bishop might be thought sufficiently qualified, especially furnished with a saving *Supplentes*, and being ready to do it by his Presbyterian Principles, That Episcopacy was no more than a Solemnity of Investiture to the Office delegated by the Commission. As to *Barlow's* being named to consecrate *Bulkley*, and his being in several Convocations, our Adversaries cannot reasonably expect we should grant all those Facts upon their bare Word, whilst they clash among themselves. *Le Courayer* says, *Barlow* was present in the Convocation of eighteen Bishops, and subscribed before *Robert Warton* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and cites *Collier* for it. His Protestant Correspondent says, *Anno 1536. Synodo provinciali interfuit, & articulis Religionis in illo concilio editis, ultimus Episcoporum tanquam Episcopus Menevensis subscripsit*, and cites *Burnet* for the Assertion. *Le Courayer* again says, *Barlow* subscribed in the Synods of 1537. 1540. 1552. in Quality of Bishop of *St. David's* and *Bath*. But his Correspondent says, he was present, only as Bishop of *St. David's*, In his omnibus (Synodis) cum reliquis Episcopis tanquam Episcopus egit; neq; alio quàm Episcopi Menevensis nomine perpetuò

petuò indigitatur. This Disagreeing among themselves shews, they had no good Grounds for what they say. This appears more manifest out of the Act of *Bulkley's* Consecration. The Name of the first Consecrator is express'd, *Joannes Sarum*, and of the Third *Joannes Gloucestrensis*; but the second is only call'd *Menevensis*, without any Name. This gives Reason to suspect, That this *Menevensis* had a Name, which did not belong to *Barlow*, and that they thought fit to suppress it, as they did before, in two Acts of *Henry VIII.*

134. The strange Uncertainty of *Barlow's* Consecration will appear farther, by examining what the *Librarian* says, pag. 77. to the Collusion between *Cranmer* and *Barlow* in making him pass for a Bishop without Consecration. He grants this Conjecture has *all the Strength a Conjecture can have*, but, says he, *when all is done it is a Conjecture urged against Facts.* Now it is so far from being alledged against *Facts*, That, *First*, There is *no Fact* that proves he was ever consecrated, *Secondly*, None of the *Facts* alledged for it, prove any more, than that he was a supposed Bishop. *Thirdly*, We have clearly shewn, N. 125. out of their own Authors, That he was not consecrated at any Time in *February*; That forty or fifty Days after, (*April 10. 21.*) he was transferr'd *unconsecrated* to the See of *St. David's*; was all that Time, and longer in *Scotland*, and, at last, return'd thence *without Consecration.* What is said of his being consecrated *Ruri*, in the Country, is a meer

meer Fiction without any Grounds. *Fourthly*, We deny it upon *Facts* urged as such by our Adversaries. They pretend he was named in a Commission for consecrating *Parker*, after *Kitchin*; whereas if he was consecrated, he should have had the Precedence, as having been Bishop four Years before *Kitchin*, according to their Account. *Fifthly*, We deny it upon *Facts* which prove, That *Harding*, *Sanders*, *Stapleton*, &c. did not look upon him as true Bishop. For since they deny'd *Parker's* Orders, not only upon other Accounts, but expressly upon this, That *no true Bishops ordain'd him*, they must either have denied *Barlow's* Consecration, or *Parker's* Register, or both; chuse which you please. Shew me such *Facts* as these against *Gardiner's* Consecration, and I will grant, That the Want of a Record of it, is a good Argument against it, tho' it could be proved, That he sat in a hundred Parliaments and Synods as Bishop. Not that the Want of a Record is alone sufficient, but That, in Conjunction with such other *Facts*, it may justly be alledged as a good Proof.

135. But, says *Le Courayer*. pag. 78. *I don't find that this Omission of the Consecration is possible. Very strange! That which has all the Strength a Conjecture can have, must certainly be possible at least. But why is this impossible? Because*, says he, *Ceremonies of this kind are never perform'd in a clandestine manner. He mistakes. We rather think no Ceremonies at all were perform'd. Both Cranmer, and Barlow, hated religious Ceremonies.*
The

The neglect of them in this Case they conceal'd by pretended Testimonials. By these he might pass so currently for a Bishop, That those who accused him of Heresies, particularly concerning Ordination, *An. 1537.* might not know that he had eluded it himself. When therefore, *pag. 60.* he calls it a *masterly Proof* of *Barlow's* Consecration, That he was not *then* reproach'd with the Want of it, This again is Nothing of a new Proof. By the same Collusion it is easy to account for *Gardiner's* calling him *Bishop* and *Brother*, as is objected, *pag. 79.* That Letter of *Gardiner* is to the Duke of *Somerset*, the great Defender of Innovators. No Wonder then, that *Gardiner* did not mention a Thing that would require a long Discussion, to an improper Person, and at an unseasonable Time. And if you suppose *Gardiner* too, was not acquainted with the Want of Consecration of *Barlow*, where is the Wonder he call'd him *Bishop*? And indeed both he and *Cranmer*, hating and fearing *Gardiner* particularly, would also be very careful to conceal their Cheats from his Knowledge. In fine, when the *Librarian* asks, *would such a Man as Barlow omit Consecration, which was requisite to give him a Rank in the Church, tho' he did not think it free from Superstition?* The Question goes upon two wrong Suppositions. For, *First*, In Case of his Collusion with *Cranmer*, it was not requisite to give him that Rank: And, *Secondly*, We do not in the least imagine, That either of them omitted it out of Tenderness of Conscience, but

but that they indulged their *Presbyterian* Humour, where they could with Safety.

136. As to his *Fifth* Chapter, it will be soon dispatch'd. Mr. *Renaudet* had urged, That when *Bonner* threatned *Landaff* with Excommunication if he acted in the Consecration of *Parker*, he would have sent the same Message to *Barlow*, if he had thought him a true Bishop. To this the *Librarian* says in general, That the *Nag's-head* Story is false, and consequently this Threat. But he adds Nothing that has not been sufficiently answer'd. He adds, indeed, That the particular Fact of that Threat has no appearance of Truth: *First*, Because *Landaff* looked upon *Bonner* as deposed, and consequently as having no Jurisdiction: *Secondly*, That there were many Churches at *London* in which he had no Jurisdiction, and had no Right to hinder the Performance of an Office in a Church not subject to him, tho' he had not been deposed. Can any Thing be more weak? For as to the first, he owns with *Godwin*, cited pag. 85. That *Landaff* notwithstanding his Crime of taking the Oath of Supremacy (which by the bye, the *Librarian* never calls a Crime) remain'd *Pontificie Doctrinae addictissimus*: He owns, pag. 87. That he was reconciled to the Church of Rome, in Queen *Mary's* Reign, from which he never afterwards separated: He owns, pag. 86. That he observed all the *Catholick Bishops* refused to have any Thing to do in that Affair, That he was at the Bottom a *Catholick*, and expected daily a new Turn would happen for *Catholick*

lick Religion. How is it possible then, that he should think *Landaff*, in these Dispositions, should either believe *Bonner* was lawfully deposed, or not fear a personal Excommunication in a Matter so highly Sacrilegious? At length sensible of this, he adds, *pag. 87.* in plain Contradiction to what he had been saying, " That whether we suppose *Bonner* acted in the Name of the Pope, or as Bishop of *London*, there may be Room to believe, That *Landaff*, who had not openly again turn'd Schismatick, might submit to the Menaces, which were made against him, because of the Regard he had to Ecclesiastical Censures." As to the second, we have seen, That they despair'd to get *Landaff* to Church.

§. 3.

It is very uncertain, whether Scory, Coverdale, or Hodgskins were true Bishops.

137. *Le Courayer* scarce takes the least Notice, That there is a very great Uncertainty of the Consecration of these three other pretended Consecrators of *Parker*. He seems, I fear, to have been unwilling the World should fairly see how this Cause stands. The World certainly never saw such another, wherein the Time, Place, Matter, Form, Persons, Circumstances are many of them in a manner evidently false, and all of them most evidently doubtful. The following Lines of *Mr. Stephens*, *pag. 6.* are here too remarkable

able to regret the Trouble of citing them at large: "Before we proceed farther, says he, "it may be observed what a *lame Cause* "this of the Consecration of *Parker* is in all "respects——He to whom *Parker* is pre- "sented to be consecrated, never consecrated "himself, that can be proved, and most "likely never was. Again, when these great "Champions, *Mason* and *Bramhall* after all "their Struggle, cannot make that Point out; "they fly to another Refuge, and tell us, "That there were three Consecrators besides "him, and That that is the Canonical Number. "But here we find another not rightly named "in the Original Record: So that here is "another Doubt; and if this hold, they fail "of their Canonical Number, even accord- "ing to their own Account: But be that "as it may; if three be the Canonical "Number for others, it is certain it is not "the legal Number for an Archbishop, when "an Archbishop is not one, as is plain in "the *Statute*, 25 *Henry VIII.* c. 20. so that "they do *deceitfully* in that; and *Parker* "therefore could be no legal Archbishop." Thus far *Mr. Stephens*. And we must add, That he could be no valid Bishop neither, if he who pronounced the Form was not himself consecrated. It seems to have been for this Reason, That the pretended Act of *Parker's* Consecration makes them *all four* pronounce the Form, That if *Barlow's* Ordination should be contested, they might have a Refuge to the others. But as this Caution manifestly appears to be a contrived Thing to answer

Answer that Objection, so it is another Proof of Forgery in that Act. For the Act says, the new Ordinal was used. Now the new Ordinal does not prescribe, That all the Consecrators should pronounce the Form, but only the principal Consecrator.

138. Nor yet will this Contrivance of making all of them pronounce the Form, clear the Matter, since the Ordinations of the other three are also under great Doubts. For, to begin with *Hodgskins*. First, He is an obscure, unknown, unheard of Man as to any Thing but his meer Name in these pretended Registers. We find him often at Work in *Parker's* Register in the Consecration of several; Which makes it strange, That for the many Jobs he is employ'd in, even in consecrating the first new Bishops, he should neither be promoted by the Queen, nor, as far as I can find, be ever taken Notice of in any other Occasion by any Author. Secondly, When I said we know Nothing of him but his Name, I should have said, we don't even know That. For, the Queen in her pretended Commission calls him *Richard*; so does the Life of *Parker*: The Register calls him *John*. Consequently we cannot be sure, That the Man, who was commission'd for it did act in the Consecration, or that the Man sometimes call'd *Richard*, is the *John* whose Consecration is found in *Cranmer's* Register. Thirdly, In that Register, *Hodgskins*, as they are pleas'd to suppose, by the Name of *John*, is put consecrated (as Mr. *Williams* says, pag. 34. and Mr. *Earbery*, pag. 11.) Dec. 9.
29 Henry

29 Henry VIII. by *Johan. London. Johan. Roff. and Rob. St. Asaph.* That is by *Stokesley, Hildesley, and Warton*, all good Catholics, says Mr. Williams. But the Misfortune is, there are not enough of them. For by Stat. 25. Henry VIII. there should be an *Archbishop and two other Bishops, or else, four Bishops.* Whereas here, in the 29th of Henry VIII. (the former Statute being then in Force) there are but three Bishops, without the Archbishop. This is a sad Flaw in the Register, and by it, This *John's*, or This *Richard's*, or This *one* knows not *who's* Consecration, is proved contrary to Statutes, and therefore very questionable at least, and draws a remarkable Suspicion upon the Register: Here, upon our denying *Barlow's* Consecration, because it is not found in *Cranmer's* Register, and at the same Time questioning That of *Hodgskins*, tho' it is found there, Mr. Williams is pleased to make this wonderful Exclamation, *strange Magick this! this is a Note beyond Transubstantiation.* Now, by his Leave, Transubstantiation lay at so great a Distance, That we may wonder how it was drawn into his Circle; but there is no wonder at all, That since our Adversaries pretend That Register is Genuine, we should argue *ad hominem* at least, That it's Silence of *Barlow's* Consecration, is a just Suspicion that he was never ordain'd. On the other Hand, we justly dispute *Hodgskins's* Ordination, both upon the other Accounts already mention'd; and particularly because, as it stands there, it is rather a Proof, that the Register is falsified:
And

And because we have other Reasons to alledge against the Credit of that Register. For Example, *Hooper's* Consecration is mark'd between that of *Ferrar's* fol. 327. and *Poynet's* fol. 331. For fol. 330. it is thus: *Johannes Hooper consecr. Episcopus Gloucest. 8. Martij 1550. a Thomâ Cantuarenſi. Nicolao Londinenſi, & Johanne Roffenſi.* Whereas *Poynet's* Consecration is dated 29 June 1550, and *Hooper* was only nam'd for the See of *Gloucester*, the third of the following July; and according to *Burnet*, *Collier*, and others, he was not consecrated till nine Months after, his rank Presbyterian Principles making him long refuse the Surplice and the Cope. If he was consecrated by *Poynet*, and ten Months after *Poynet*, his Consecration should have been placed in the Register after *Poynet's*. In publick and faithful Registers, such Things are put in the Order of the Times. We have therefore Reason to think, That these Ordinations were not writ till afterwards, and consequently That *Cranmer's* Register cannot be so authentick as is pretended; since where, by the Delay of registering the Acts, there is a visible Confusion of Dates, there is just Grounds of suspecting Forgeries.

139. As to *Scory* and *Coverdale*, they are both pretended to be consecrated by *Cranmer*, *Ridley* and *Hodgskins*. Bless us! What Men to secure an Ordination? *Cranmer*, a rank Presbyterian, particularly in that Point. *Ridley*, one of the same Stamp. *Hodgskins*, a Man unknown, and of a very uncertain Entity, as well as of a dubious Ordination. How suspicious is it, that such Men slurr'd over a

Consecration of two such other Men as *Scory* and *Coverdale*, both miserable *Apostates*, and sad *Presbyterians*. Moreover, the Consecration of these two, such as it was, must be accounted no better than others, perform'd by the new Ordinal, which were all declar'd invalid in the Reign of Queen *Mary*. In fine, The strange Figure which *Coverdale* made at *Parker's* Ordination, according to the *Lambeth* Account, shews how unlikely a Man he was to have been solicitous about his own Ordination; it shews that the others suffering him to make that *Presbyterian* Figure, were themselves very indifferent about the Matter; it shews what Streights the Forgers of the Registers were put to, in finding out Bishops of any Sort, to consecrate *Parker*; otherwise, such as these could never have been chosen. And hence we have another Argument already mention'd against the Episcopacy of *Barlow* and *Hodgskins*, tho' pretended to have been ordain'd in the Reign of *Henry the Eighth*. For, as I have already observ'd, *Harding*, *Sanders*, &c. expressly affirm, there were no Bishops of the old Ordination, that would ordain the new Bishops; and not to repeat former Proofs of this, I will add two others. The first from *Harding*, where he says, That of all, who took the Oath of Supremacy, *Landaff* was the only true Bishop by Consecration. The second is *Fulk*, in his Answer to *Stapleton's* *Fortress*, where charging *Stapleton* with Falshood, for saying, That when all the Popish Bishops were deposed, there were no true Bishops to lay Hands on the new ones, he speaks thus: It is utterly false: For there

there was one of the Popish Bishops, that continu'd in his Place: There were also divers, that were consecrated Bishops in King Edward's Days. The Authorities alledg'd signify, That neither *Barlow*, nor any other remain'd of the old Ordination, from whom the new Bishops could hope to be ordain'd, and that consequently those Authors, so near the Times, knew nothing of *Barlow's* or *Hodgskin's* being true Bishops, or of their acting in the pretended notorious *Lambeth-Consecration* of *Parker*. Again, from the concurrent Language of the Authors of those Times, thus positively affirming, That no Bishops of the old Ordination would consecrate the new ones, I am perswaded, That *Barlow's* want of Consecration was discover'd long before *Champney* call'd it in Question; which I infer also from the Words of *Mr. Constable*, who speaks of *Barlow* as one, who was unquestionably no more than a Priest. *A duobus ad summum sacerdotibus, non episcopis.* (see N. 104.)

140. I must not omit observing, upon an Argument for *Scory's* Episcopacy, taken from an Act wherein *Bonner* restores him to his Functions, and calls him his *Confrater*, and in a Word treats him, they pretend, as absolutely a Bishop. *First*, It is without Date of the Day, tho' *Burnet* cites it as dated the 14th of *July*. *Secondly*, *Bonner's* calling *Scory* his *Confrater*, is not the usual Style of Catholick Bishops. *Thirdly*, *Bonner* had no Right to reinstate a fallen Bishop: Only the Legat could do it, or others by his Authority, and the Power given to others was to be mention'd. *Fourthly*, An Act for reinstat-

ing such a fallen Bishop, ought to have mention'd more particularly, his being absolv'd from his Sins, and from Ecclesiastical Censures. *Fifthly*, It is dated *the 15th of our Translation*. *Bonner* would have said, *of our Episcopacy*: For he had never been consecrated to the See of *Hereford*, but only *Elect* to it. *Sixthly*, There is a Flatness and Singularity in the Style and Tenour of the Act, which sufficiently betrays it: And *Bonner* was too well vers'd in Ecclesiastical Laws to think it enough to say of such an Apostate as *Scory*, That he had marry'd against the *Canons*, without mentioning, that he did it against his *Religious Vow*; he knew there was a great Difference between the Marriage of Religious Persons and other Priests; he knew that *Queen Mary* made an expresse Distinction between them, in the Letters she gave for examining their Causes. But above all, it is obvious to any one, That since Ordinations made by *King Edward's* Ordinal, were declar'd invalid in *Queen Mary's* Reign, by a Judgment to which the Church has ever since conform'd hers, it is not credible that *Bonner* would derogate from it in Favour of *Scory*. And here I cannot but do *Mr. Collier* the Justice to observe how much fairer he is than *Burnet*, in Points of Historical Candor. For, speaking of *Scory* pag. 365. He says, "*Scory* — went
 " a full Length of Compliance — renounc'd
 " his Matrimony, submitted to Penance —
 " upon his giving this full Satisfaction, *Bon-*
 " *ner* was contented to restore him to the
 " Exercise of his Pastoral Function: Tho'
 " with some Abatement, *saltem cum quodam*
 " *tempera-*

temperamento. But whether he was allowed
 “ to act as Suffragan — or confin’d to the
 “ Business of a Priest, is not said.” It
 is a Pity Mr. *Collier* did not add, That
 altho’ it is not said in that Act, yet even
 supposing the Act to be Genuine, it would
 be sufficiently understood from the Declara-
 tion of Queen *Mary*, March 3. 1553-4. That
they were not order’d in very Deed. In a
 Word, This pretended Act of *Bonner*, whether
 you suppose it to be Genuine or Forg’d, may
 be a Proof of *Scory’s* Licentious Life, and
 horrid dissembling in Religion, but can be
 none of his true Episcopal Ordination.

C H A P. VII.

*Remarks upon the Librarian’s sixth and
 seventh Chapter of the Matter and Form
 of the English Ordinations.*

141. **T**HE greatest Part of Readers are more
 capable of framing a Judg-
 ment upon Matters of *Fact*, than upon such
 as are unavoidably intermixt with specula-
 tive Points of Divinity. This has made me
 be larger in the precedent Remarks, than I de-
 sign to be in those which follow. And truly
 since the Proofs we have produc’d are such,
 that it cannot be denied with any Equity,
 or even Modesty, that they frame at least,
 a reasonable Doubt of the *Fact* of *Parker’s*

Consecration, here we might stop. For, as I have said, and it is of Importance enough to be repeated oftner, This alone, makes all the *Librarian's* Book entirely useles to the Publick; since, as long as Doubts remain, no conscientious Person can be satisfied under that Uncertainty. Whatever they may think allowable in some other Cases, yet in Regard of the Validity of Sacraments, especially such as the Orders of a whole Nation, Probabilities will not do. The more certain Ordination must be procured. But what now remains to be examin'd, will much heighten the Doubts, and make the Invalidity of the *English* Orders morally certain. It were to be wish'd, That as the *Librarian's* Book is so far from taking away all Doubts of their Validity, that it very much increases them, so he had endeavour'd to defend it with greater Caution: Then, his Treatise, however useles, might have been harmless too. But now I am sorry to observe in general, that almost all the Remainder of his Book, is rather a Defence of the Schism and the Errors of the *English*, than of their Orders. If even the most moderate of his Readers had not already, both in Private, and in Publick, been of this Opinion, I would gladly have waved observing, That he never so much as once, names the *Sacrifice of Mass*; That he seems to reduce the Christian Sacrifice to the *Calvinian* Standard; to justify the *English* in assuming a Power, not only independent of, but repugnant to that of any other Church; in abrogating several important and universal Points, such as the ancient Liturgy; in changing of the Ordinal; in establishing the Supremacy

macy of the secular Powers in spiritual Things, and the Exclusion of the Pope's Supremacy by Oath. All Catholicks will be very glad to find, That in the Reply he is preparing, he removes all these Consequences, which follow very obviously from his Expressions. He owes this Amendment not only to Catholicks, but to Protestants, and to the very Cause he has taken in Hand, of the Validity of their Orders. For, if still he continues to defend their Validity by such Principles as lead manifestly into such Errors, as no Catholick can allow; his Reply must also in this Respect, be rather a Prejudice against That Validity, than any Advantage to it. The Reason is clear. For then this Reflection will be obvious to every one. If so learned a Man could not defend the Validity of the *English* Orders, but by such Principles as are inconsistent with the Principle and Articles of Faith in the Catholick Church, it will add this Prejudice to his Cause, That the Errors of the *English* Schism and Heresy, are too closely interwoven with their Pretensions to Orders; and consequently, that their Orders can no more be maintain'd, than the Errors with which they are so nearly connected. But not to enlarge on such general Observations. I must add, That altho' his Method in what follows is confuse and improper, yet, since I am engaged to follow him, all I can do in this Method, is to reduce and state Things under such Heads, as may in some Measure supply that Defect, and sufficiently confuse, as I hope, his whole Scheme.

§. 1.

*The English Ordinations are dubious, at least,
upon Account of their Matter.*

142. As to the *Matter* of the *English* Ordinations, it cannot, says the *Librarian*, (pag. 90.) admit of any long Debate; because (so he is pleased to add) *Morinus's* Proofs have appear'd so convincing to all *Learned Divines*, that they unanimously agree, That *Imposition of Hands*, is the Only essential Matter of Ordination. But he reckons much too fast. He has not all *Divines* in his Library, nor has he read them all. Let it be supposed, if you please, but not granted, That *speculatively* Speaking, there is a great Agreement, that *Imposition of Hands alone*, is the Matter of Ordination; Yet even This, is not the Opinion of all, nor even at present, since *Morinus's* Works. Nor can it be imagined, That the *Learned Divines*, who writ before him, could be ignorant of the Arguments he has produced, at least in Substance, tho' they were not acquainted with some particular Rituals he has publish'd. And *practically* speaking, *Divines* still generally hold, That if the Delivery of some Instruments, for Example, be omitted, it will make the Ordination doubtful at least. This Opinion appears strongly grounded in the Decree of the *Florentine Council*, for the Union of the *Jacobites* and *Armenians*; which Decree, the *Librarian* has never once thought fit to mention. The express Words are, *Sextum sacramentum est Ordinis, cujus materia est illud per cujus tradi-*

traditionem confertur Ordo. It is in vain to urge with the *Librarian*: *First*, That the Holy Scripture mentions only Imposition of Hands. *Secondly*, That there are scarce any Footsteps to be met with, of the Delivery of the Instruments, in the *Rituals* publish'd by *Morinus*, *Mabillon* and *Martene*. The Answer is very obvious. And truly, That Imposition of Hands *alone*, is the *whole* Matter, because, *That alone*, is named in Holy Scripture, and in several ancient Authors or Rituals, seems a very strange Argument. For, who does not know, That *Imposition of Hands*, is a general Kind of Expression, including often the whole Process or Series of the Solemnity of Ordaining, both as to the Ceremonies, and the Essentials of Ordination? Thus, Confirmation is also often in Holy Scripture, call'd *Imposition of Hands*. But will they thence infer, That it is the *whole* Matter of that Sacrament? It is a very just Observation of the excellent Notes of the *Rhemes* Testament, (*Acts* ch. 13. v. 3.) That whatsoever is done in the Sacraments of Confirmation and Order, is call'd *Imposition of Hands*, as whatsoever is done in the whole Mystery of the *Eucharist*, is named, *Fraction of Bread*; yet certainly, Bread alone, is not the *whole* Matter of the *Eucharist*. The same Notes cite there, these Words of St. Ambrose, " Imposition of Hands, is the mystical Words, wherewith the Elected is confirm'd, and made apt to his Function, receiving Authority, his Conscience bearing Witness, that he may be bold in our Lord's stead, to offer Sacrifice to God." And I take Notice of these Words, not only as they plainly

plainly import, that by Imposition of Hands the whole Action, even the Words of the Form of Ordaining, is often included; but also, as they no less plainly import, that in the Form of Ordaining in St. *Ambrose's* Time, the express Words signified, a *Power of offering Sacrifice*. It were very easy to bring several other Examples, wherein the ancient Fathers sometimes speak only of one Part of the Matter of Sacraments, sometimes of another, and often mention only Imposition of Hands, while it is certain they did not mean this is the whole Matter of the Sacraments of which they speak. See for Example in *Bellarmin* of Confirmation, *cap. 9.*

143. If therefore some have been moved, with wrong Arguments, to think, that the Delivery of such, or such a particular Instrument, a Chalice for Example, is not essential; yet there is a great deal of difference between saying, That the delivery of a Chalice in particular is not essential; and saying, that no Instrument, or no other material Sign is requisite. Christ did not determine ultimately, precisely and specifically, but only in general, both the Matter and Form of this, and of some other Sacraments. The Church may fix upon such particular Signs, as she judges convenient. Yet, still it may be true, that some Sign or other, besides Imposition of Hands, may be requisite. In the *Florentine* Decree, the Chalice is mention'd as the Sign then appointed in the Church. It declares in general, that the Matter is that, by the Delivery whereof, Orders are conferr'd. Whether a Chalice or some other Sign, is left to the Determination of the Church. But tho' Christ left Power to the Church to determine
the

the particular Sign, it does not follow, that when a particular Sign is either appointed or allowed by the Church, that Sign can be omitted without her Allowance, or even contrary to her Decrees, without endangering the Validity of the Sacrament. Those *Rituals*, which do not mention the Chalice, or any other particular Instrument, do not deny that some such Sign was to be given. Their Silence is at most a negative Argument. The *Florentine Words* are a positive Affirmation. Many Things and Practices of the ancient *Rituals* are obscure to us. Several Things were certainly perform'd, which they do not express; otherwise we might infer from the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, that no Kind of Ceremony was used, besides mere Imposition of Hands; because, *That* alone is mention'd, and that any Sort of Words, even these alone, *The Lord bless you*, were all the Form, since it only mentions a *Blessing* in general, *uno fundente Benedictionem*.

144. But however, it may in some Sort be supposed, not granted, in General, and speculatively Speaking, That Imposition of Hands is alone the whole Matter of Ordination, yet in Practice it is not to be denied, That where *this alone* is used, the Ordination is doubtful. *Morinus* has not convinced the World of the contrary. Not to insist upon what happen'd in 1604. under *Clement* the Eighth; because that was before *Morinus's* Work, which is so much insisted upon, let us see a fresher Instance. In the Year 1696. *Scanagata* Bishop of *Avellino*, being afflicted with the Gout, made his Master of the Ceremonies, deliver the Instruments to those, who were to be ordain'd. One of them

them afterwards reflecting, That the Bishop himself had not deliver'd the Instruments, had Recourse to his Metropolitan, who is now Pope, by the Name of *Benedict* the XIII; after having examin'd the Case, he judg'd those, who had been ordain'd so by the Bishop of *Avellino*, ought to be reordain'd, at least, *sub conditione*. For greater Security, he sent the Case to *Rome*. There it was discuss'd anew, before Pope *Innocent* XII. in a Congregation of the *Holy Office*, and on the first of *August* 1697. (that is above Forty Years after *Morinus's* Book,) a Decree was given accordingly, as had been done in 1604. The Decree is at large, in *F. John Michael Cavalieri's* Second Tome, from whence it will be proper to quote at least, these remarkable Words.—“*Maturè discusso dubio an Ordinationes sint nullæ & invalidæ—Sanctissimus decrevit—ut ordinati ab Episcopo—non porrectâ per ipsum—met Episcopum materia dictorum Ordinum, iterum sub conditione ac singillatim ordinentur—qui fuerint ordinati ab anno 1688. citra, quibus ex facto præsumitur non fuisse per Episcopum traditam materiam, omnes indistinctè iterum, sub dictâ conditione ordinentur.*” From these Examples, (and others might be alledged) it appears, *First*, That the Church, whatever may be the speculative Opinions of Divines, will, in Practice, follow the securer Way; and that therefore, it was in Vain for the *Librarian* to amuse the World with his Notions of the *English* Orders, unless he could evidently remove all the Doubts, which attend them on every Side. *Secondly*, That he ought much less to condemn, as he does,

does, the Practice of the Church in reordaining the *English*, while there are much greater Doubts of their Orders, than in the Cases now mention'd, and which have made the Church continue the Practice for near two Centuries. We may add, That in the Case of the *English*, the Practice has constantly been to reordain them *absolutely* without any Condition at all. Which shews, she judged there was no reasonable Doubt of their Invalidity.

It is therefore doubtful at least, even upon Account of the changing the essential Matter, Whether the *English* Ordinations are valid. And when the *Librarian* adds, *pag. 91. All other Usages besides Imposition of Hands, are but mere Ceremonies, that consequently may be omitted without affecting the Substance of the Sacrament*, He speaks in a decisive Tone, which does by no Means become him, in a Point wherein the practical Decisions of the Church are so very opposite. But when he further adds, *every Church may add to 'em, or retrench from them, what it shall think proper*——without Danger of giving Scandal to any one, He advances a Proposition which has given great Scandal. Nor does *Fulbert* of *Charters*, whom he here cites, mean any such boundless Liberty. I would willingly ask him, Whether he thinks any Church might without Scandal omit, and even *forbid upon all Occasions*, the Sign of the Cross? Yet this is only a Ceremony. How much less allowable can it be for the *English* to forbid the Use of that Matter in Ordinations, which the Church expressly prescribes? Especially, since it is visible in it self, and will appear so, more fully hereafter, That
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the pretended *English* Reformers changed the Matter used by the Church, because they abandon'd the Doctrine of the Church, which appointed the Delivery of the Chalice, Wine, and Bread, with a Design of expressing more particularly, the Power of Sacrificing. The Change therefore of the Matter in the *English* Ordinal, has moreover this other Doubt, from the Intention and visible Design, upon which the former Matter was set aside.

§. 2.

The English Ordinations are dubious, or rather clearly invalid, upon Account of the Form.

145. But as it is the Form that chiefly constitutes every Thing, so is it from the Form, that the greatest Doubts of the *English* Ordinations arise. “*The School-men*, says the *Librarian*, pag. 92. have maintain'd that the “ Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* were “ the Form of Ordination: But how generally soever this Opinion has prevail'd, it “ is very difficult to stand out against the “ Reasons, which *Morinus* and *Martene* bring “ to refute it. Here are, at least, three Mistakes. *First*, It is imposing upon his Reader to say, *the School-men*. This Expression seems to import, That in a manner all School-men are of that Opinion: Whereas, it is certain, they are not. *Secondly*, He is forc'd to say, *It is difficult* to maintain that Opinion. This Expression, Scholastically taken, must import, That their Opinion is not certainly and evidently false. If it were, it would

would not only be difficult to maintain it, but it would be absolutely unfustainable: As far therefore as it is still probable, That the Words *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* are a Part at least of the Form, so far it is not difficult to stand out against the Arguments of *Morinus*. And that they are a Part of the Form seems strongly grounded in the Council of *Trent*, *Sess. 24. Can. 4. Si quis dixerit per sacram Ordinationem non dari Spiritum Sanctum, ac proinde frustra Episcopum dicere, accipe Spiritum Sanctum, Anathema sit.* Which Words it seems difficult to understand rightly, unless they be allow'd to mean, that those Words, *accipe Spiritum Sanctum*, concur, at least, to the giving the Grace of Ordination. *Thirdly*, If he pretends, That the School-men insist upon it, That those precise Words are the Essential Form, as he seems to mean, he imposes upon them. They only mean, That those Words in Substance, and as now us'd, are a Part of the Essential Form. It must be granted, That those precise Words are not us'd in ancient Rituals, but equivalent Words are found in them. Let one grant then again, That he may be allow'd to say, pag. 93. *There is no pronouncing upon the Validity, or Defect of the English Ordinations, on Account of any Change made in this Form of Words*, if he means this Form precisely by it self: But if he means, that no Change in those Words, as they are join'd with others, can invalidate the Ordination, it is absolutely false. For, if the Change of that Form extends to other Parts, which are connected with it, and are essential, then the
Change

Change in respect of that Form, will affect the Substance of Ordination, and make it invalid. His Words, *any Change*, are too extensive, and make his Proposition found very harshly.

146. Moreover, what Good he can do the *English* Orders, by urging that the Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, &c. are not the Form, I cannot see. But I clearly see on the contrary, that he furnishes a very strong Argument against them. For thence, we may frame this Syllogism. The Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, &c. are not the Form, according to him; nay, he grants that Form, not only is not essential, but is of it self insufficient: But it is morally certain, those Words are the entire essential Form of King *Edward's* Ordinal. Consequently, he must grant it is morally certain, That King's Ordinal is insufficient. That it is morally certain, those Words are the Form of that Ordinal appears. *First*, Because those Words are us'd at the Time of the Imposition of hands, nor is that imposition join'd in that Ordinal with any other Words. If then the Form is not those Words, but some others that go before, then the Ordination would be doubtful upon this very Account, That the Form was precedent to the Matter, whereas it ought either to accompany the Matter, or to follow it. And, the Baptism of the *Georgians* has been condemn'd for this very Reason, That they pronounced the Form before they apply'd the Matter. *Secondly*, The Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, &c. must needs be the *English* Form, for the Ordination of De cons.

For

For, in their Ordination of Deacons, there is no other Prayer us'd precedently to those Words, and the Prayer us'd after them, is only that after the Communion, and consequently when now their Ordination is already done. *Thirdly*, It is very clear these Words were always look'd upon as the *English* Form; as such, they alone were extracted from the new Ordinal, and sent to *Rome* to be examin'd in *Queen Mary's* Time. Dr. *Champney*, and all other Catholicks, have ever attack'd their Orders from the Defect of That Form; Protestants have endeavour'd to defend That Form: A clear Proof, That by all on both Sides, it was look'd upon to be the essential Form of the new Ordinal. As such, no other Prayer is specified, but That alone is set down at large, in the pretended Act of *Parker's* Ordination, as the proper Form by which he was ordain'd.

147. The Argument hence, is in Substance this. The essential Form must signify, express, and specify the Power or the Order given; and unless some Words of the Form express the Order, the Form is not sufficient for a valid Ordination. But no Words in *King Edward's* Form do signify, express, or specify the Order given: Therefore, that Form is not sufficient. The *Major*, or first Proposition we prove. *First*, Because the Rituals of all Ages and Countries, *Greeks*, *Latins*, *Syrians*, &c. publish'd by *Morinus*, agree in always expressing the particular Order to be given. In the *Greek* Rituals, the Archbishop laying his Hands upon the Head of the Person to be ordain'd, says, *Divina gratia* —

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promovet

promovet hunc N. Deo amabilem Presbyterum in Episcopum. Then again, — *Spiritus Sancti adventu, virtute & gratia* (which by the bye is the same in Substance, as to say, *accipe Spiritum Sanctum*) *subeat Evangelicum jugum & dignitatem EPISCOPALEM, &c.* The Latin Rituals, notwithstanding some Difference of Ceremonies and Words, agree in specifying the Order given. The principal Prayer call'd, *Consecration*, says, *Huic famulo tuo quem ad summi Sacerdotij ministerium elegisti, hanc quaesumus Domine gratiam largiaris, &c.* *Comple in Sacerdote tuo mysterij tui summam, &c.* *Tribuas ei Domine Cathedram Episcopalem, &c.* In the same Manner the Ritual of the Maronites; *ordinatur in Ecclesia sancta Dei N. Episcopus, &c.* *Episcopum istum quem elegisti—erudi, &c.* *Tu Episcopum istum, &c.* There is no need of mentioning more Instances, or citing the Places of *Morinus*: They are obvious. It is then the constant Doctrine and Tradition of all Ages and Countries, That in the Form of Ordination, it is necessary to express the Order given. The Reason is, because Imposition of Hands, being of it self a dumb and indeterminate Sign, common to divers Orders, as of Priests, and Bishops, and even Deacons, there must be some Words which, as its Form, determine it to signify the Order given. And this is granted by *Mason* l. 2. c. 16. n. 6. cited by *Erastus*; *Non verba quaelibet huic Instituto inservire poterunt, sed quae ad Ordinis conferendi potestatem exprimendam sunt accommodata — Istius modi autem verba quatenus datam potestatem denotant, sunt illius ordinis forma essentialis.* Even

Even the *Librarian* pag. 220. owns it is essential, that the End and Effect of the Sacrament should be express, for which he there cites and approves *Habert's* Assertion, That it is requisite, That in the Form, *præcipuum Institutionis caput, intentio, scopusq; servetur.*

148. Now, That King *Edward's* Form has no Words which signify, express and specify the Order given, is manifest from the Ordinal it self. If we take the whole Office us'd at the Ordination by That King's Ordinal, I grant there is, several Times, express mention of Episcopal Power, or Order; as in the Questions propos'd to the Elect Bishop, in the Litany, &c. But all those Ceremonies and Expressions, are only Preparations and Preambles to the *Consecration-Form*, but are no part of the Form it self. For after all those Ceremonies and Expressions of the Name and Office of a Bishop, the Ordainer tells the *Elect*, That he must examine him, *before* he admits him to that Administration, whereunto he is call'd. Hitherto then, he had not begun to ordain him, and by Consequence, all the precedent Expressions of the Name and Office of a Bishop, are not any Part of the Form of Episcopal Ordination in that new Ordinal. Does any that follows, determine, or specify the Order to be given? Nothing. For, after the Examination, follows the Hymn *Veni Creator*. In this used, as the Ordinal says, in the same Manner as in the Ordination of Priests, there is nothing which specifies Episcopal Power, rather than that of a Priest. Nay, it in reality, does not specify either Order, but the Grace of the Holy Ghost

in general, which may be implor'd no less upon other Occasions, for any other Christian Office. Next, the Ordainer prays for Grace, for the Elect *to use the Authority committed to him, to Edification and not to Destruction; to distribute Food in due season to the Family of Christ, as becometh a faithful and prudent Steward.* In this Prayer, whatsoever may be the Ordainer's mental Intention, there are no Words that express or specify Episcopal Power, but it might be made equally for a Priest, to whom, according to the Ordinal, is given an extraordinary Authority and Stewardship, as *to forgive Sins, and to be a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God and his Holy Sacraments.* Then follows the Imposition of Hands, with these Words: *Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that you stir up the Grace of God, which is in thee, by the Imposition of our Hands. For God has not given us the Spirit of Fear, but of Power and Soberness.* These are the Words, which as we have seen just now, are the essential Form of the new Ordinal. But it is evident, these Words do not specify Episcopal Power, or determine the Imposition of Hands to signify it. For there is nothing in them, but what might be said to any Priest or Deacon, or even to any Boy or Girl when they are confirm'd. Lastly, The Ordainer gives the Bible into the new Bishop's Hands, exhorting him to *behave himself towards the Flock of Christ as a Pastor, &c.* But this Exhortation might as well be made to a Priest or Minister after he is ordain'd. For, Ministers are also properly *Pastors*, oblig'd, to feed, and not devour the Flock of Christ

Christ committed to their Charge, and in the new Ordinal are therefore required, and do promise to teach, or feed the *Flock committed to their Charge*. Consequently, these Words neither specify Episcopal Power, nor determine the Imposition of Hands, or delivering of the Bible, to signify that particular Order. Even Burnet, cited by Williams, says, That in King Edward's Ordinal no express mention was made in the Words of ordaining, either of Priest or Bishop. He adds, it's true, That these Words (Receive the Holy Ghost) being the same in giving both Orders, were not any Ground to infer, that the Church esteem'd them one Order, the rest of the Office shewing the contrary very plainly. But however plainly the rest of the Office might shew, That the Church did not esteem them one Order, yet it is true, That the Words were the same in giving both Orders, as he grants. It is also granted by the Librarian, pag. 106. It is true indeed, there is nothing in them that evidently distinguishes them, so as to shew, that the one was to be used for the Episcopacy, the other for the Priesthood. It is then clearly prov'd. First, The Power given should be express'd in the Form. Secondly, That it is not express'd in King Edward's Form; whence it plainly follows, That his Form is invalid.

149. This Argument had been equivalently proposed by the *Treatise of Catholick Faith and Heresy*. The Answer given by Bramball chap. 11. is, That the Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, &c. consider'd singly in a divided Sense from the rest of the Office, do not distinctly and reciprocally express Episcopal Power.

Power: But consider'd *conjunctly in a compounded Sense*, with the rest of the Office, there is enough to express it distinctly. *Era-
stus Senior*, replies unanswerably, That this Answer either is false, or impertinent, or grants the Argument. If he means, That the Essential Form by it self alone, does not express the Power, he grants the Argument, which consists in this, That the Form it self by it self, and independently of Circumstances, should have some Expressions of the particular Power to be given by it. It is the Form that gives the Power, and it cannot give what it does not express. In a Word, to say the Form indeed does not by it self express it, but other Words express it, is granting, That the Form has not what is requisite to make it valid. For, the Form cannot be made valid by Words, which are no Part of the Form. All the other Words are only Preparations to the Act of Ordination, and no Part of the Form, as we have seen. For, they are used, as the Ordinal expressly observes, *before* the Ordainer comes to admit the *Elect* to the Ministry. If *before* he admits him, he should use the Word *Bishop* ten thousand times over, this would avail nothing, if when he comes to admit him, he should use no Words that *then* express that Power. Thus, if in the Office of Baptism, you should never so often say before Hand, That the Person presented to be baptiz'd, is going to receive Christian Baptism, which was instituted in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and should repeat those Names never so often elsewhere; yet if they
were

were not express'd in the very Form it self, singly and in a divided Sense, from the rest of the baptismal Office, the Form would be invalid. And yet, these Words, *I give thee Christian Baptism*, conjointly with the other Parts of that Office, would be as much determin'd to signify Baptism in the Name of the Blessed Trinity, as King *Edward's* Form of Ordination is determin'd by the other Parts, to signify the Order of a Priest or a Bishop. *Bramball's* Answer, is therefore intirely impertinent, or grants the Argument, if the other Parts of the Office are no Part of the Form. And, if by the Words, *consider'd jointly and in a compound Sense*, he means the other Parts of the Office, are a Part of the Form, and that all the Parts together, make one *Complex*, or one *compounded Form*, it is absolutely false. For, we have seen, That the Ordinal it self imports plainly, That the other Expressions are no Part of the Form. And besides, it is plainly absurd to say, the whole Office is the Form.

150. Neither *Williams*, who copies *Bramball's* Answer, nor *Le Courayer*, who in his seventh Chapter, does in great Measure copy them both, take any Notice of *Erastus's* Reply. They found him too close an Author to deal with. *Le Courayer*, indeed has added, That *Vasquez*. and some other Divines, seem to think the Words *Receive the Holy Ghost*, &c. are sufficiently determin'd, by the other Parts of the Pontifical to express *Episcopacy*, tho' the Words by themselves singly, do not express it; and would skreen himself under their Authority. But, *First*, It is unaccount-

able, that he should pretend to espouse their Opinion, in a Point wherein he absolutely holds they are mistaken. For, that Opinion of those Divines (supposing the *Librarian* takes them right, which I very much question) is grounded upon this, That those Words *Receive the Holy Ghost*, are the essential Form, which Opinion the *Librarian* entirely rejects. *Secondly*, The Opinion of those Divines is, in that Regard, incomparably less probable than the opposite Opinion. Consequently, their Opinion of that Form being sufficiently determin'd by the other Parts of the Office, supposing it to have some Probability, will still leave the *English* Ordinal doubtful in this very Respect. *Thirdly*, Besides the Oddness of the *Librarian's* thus sheltring under those Schoolmen, whom he very unjustly seems to despise, it is (scholastically speaking) contrary to the Nature of a Form to be of it self indifferent, and to stand in Need of an extrinsecal Determination. For, it is the Form that ultimately determines the Indifference of the Matter; which it cannot do, if it self is indifferent.

151. But what our Adversaries say of the Form being determin'd by the other Parts of the Office affords, I think, a very strong Argument of the Invalidity of their Orders. For, thus I argue: In a *compound Proposition*, or in a Number of Propositions which are *to be taken in a compound Sense*, whatever is included, or excluded in the Propositions *so taken*, makes the *whole* true or false, as it is so taken, or so specified in a compounded Sense. If you say in a Compound of Propositions, *Peter writes, Paul reads, John stands*, the

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Compound will be false, if any one part is false. In the same Manner, if a Form of Words has not such, or such a determinate Sense by it self, but is determin'd to such a particular Sense by other Words, which are to be taken in a compound Sense, with that indeterminate Form, it follows, That if the Words which determine it to such a particular Sense are false, the Form it self *so determin'd* will be false. For since it is suppos'd not to have that Sense by it self, and to have it only as *so determin'd*, such as is the Sense of the determining Words, such must be the Sense of the Form which is to be taken in that compound Sense. The Determination of Words makes their Sense: Nor is it conceivable, that Words should be true, while they are determin'd to their Sense by Words that are false. Under that Determination they must of Necessity be false, however true they may be independently of it. Thus, however true it may be, That *Paul* reads, yet if it be affirm'd in a *compound Sense* with *Peter's* writing, while it is not true that he writes, the whole Complex of those Affirmations will be false. In the present Case, this is even stronger: For the indeterminate Form is not barely join'd in a Compound with the other Words of the Ordinal, but the other Words of the Ordinal must particularly affect and influence it, as the *Determinative* of it, to the Sense it bears, and which it has not but by being *jointly taken*; and certainly when Words are indeterminate, That which fixes and determines their Signification, if false, will necessarily fix them to a false Sense. If therefore, that is false,
which

which in the Ordinal determines the Form to signify a Power, which it does not signify by it self, but only *as so determin'd*, that Form will, in this compound Sense, be false. Now, so it is in King *Edward's Ordinal*. When we urge, That the Form, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* is indeterminate; our Adversaries reply it is determin'd to Episcopacy, by the very presenting the Elect to the Ordainer, and by the other Proceedings, Questions and Prayers. What Sort of Episcopacy, or what Kind of Episcopal Power, do those previous Proceedings import? They plainly import no other, than such as is according to the *Statutes*. Besides, his immediately taking the *Oath of Supremacy*, as soon as he is presented to the Ordainer to be consecrated, lest even after that Oath, the *Elect* should still mistake what Sort of Power is going to be conferr'd upon him, the Ordainer tells him, he must ask him some Questions before he admits him, He then asks, whether he will correct and punish such as be criminous, *according to such Authority as ye have by God's Word, and as to you shall be committed by Ordinance of this Realm*. The Librarian hereupon says, pag. 103. *this must necessarily be understood of the Keys: (omitting that it is a very lame Expression of the Power of the Keys, which is not only a Power of Punishing, but of Absolving)* We may say much more justly, it must necessarily be understood, that no Power is given, but *according to the Ordinance of the Realm*. According to that Ordinance, he has no Power, but what is subordinate to the King's Supremacy, even in Spiritual and Ecclesiastical

clesiastical Matters. But a Power thus subordinate to the King, is no true Episcopal Power. Therefore the other Parts of the Ordinal, which determine the Form to signify Episcopal Power, determine it to signify a false Power; and by Consequence the Form thus affected and determined, must be false and invalid. Or thus: By the Ordinance of the Realm, Episcopal Power is not subordinate to the Pope: No Episcopal Power can be given, which is not subordinate to the Pope's spiritual Supremacy: Therefore a Form that is determin'd to signify such a Power, cannot be valid.

152. In other Words, and with less of a scholastick Air, the Argument will stand thus: The plain Import of the Ordinal is, That the Power of Episcopacy is subordinate to the King, and not subordinate to the Pope. Upon presenting the Elect to be ordain'd, a plain Declaration is made, of what is meant by the Word *Bishop*. That Declaration plainly determines the Word *Bishop* to a new Sense, which it did not import before. *Bishop* is not now to be understood as formerly, but as lately restrain'd by the *Statutes*. The affirmative Answer of the Elect, is plainly as much as to own, he pretends to no other Authority, than to such as is within those new Statutes. So that when the Form, which is otherwise indeterminate, comes to be us'd, it is already determin'd to that false Sense. And in this Case, the Defect will not be only from the Intention of the Ordainer, but from the very Import of the Form, as so determin'd. If indeed an Error, however opposite to the Sub-

Substance of the Sacrament were so exprest in other Parts of the Ordinal, as not to affect the Words which either solely make the Form, or at least are part of it, then such an Error in the Ordainer, or in the Ordinal, might be consistent with an Intention of doing what the Church does, tho' it should be even express'd before Hand, That the Church, which is in reality the true Church, is in an Error. Because, if the Ordainer uses a right Form, his particular erroneous Intention might possibly be over-ruled by his general Intention of doing what Christ instituted. For, if the Form be good of it self, his Intention cannot alter the Signification of it; since Words do not signify as we please, but have their Signification determin'd by Institution and common Use. Thus let an *Arian* intend as much as he pleases by the Word *Son* to mean a Son *Not-Consubstantial*, yet that Word in the Form of Baptism will truly of it self not signify That, but rather the contrary. And tho' by other Words before and after, he expresses his Error of *Not-Consubstantial*, yet if in baptizing by the Word *Son*, he has an Intention of doing what Christ instituted, his Error will not make his Baptism Invalid. Because the Form is of itself determined to mean the Son Consubstantial. But if the Form were of itself indeterminate, and were affected and determined by other Expressions of that Error, the Form it self would be invalid. And thus, notwithstanding the Statutes ordering the Oath of Supremacy in the Days of King *Henry VIII.* Ordinations might be valid, because altho' the

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Statutes excluded the Pope's Supremacy, yet that Exclusion did not then affect the Form, which at that Time was preserved entire, determin'd to its Signification independently of any other Words. On the contrary, the new Form is not determin'd by it self to signify Episcopal Power, but only as *previously affected, as determin'd by conjunction, and in a compound Sense*, with other Expressions, importing that Error; And is consequently void and null. Nor does this Argument hold against those only, who maintain the Pope's Spiritual Supremacy, but also against those who deny it. For, they must grant, that of two Forms which are contradictory in regard of the substantial Power given by them, one must be false and void. Now it is evident, that a Power *Subordinate* to that Supremacy is essentially different, and sufficiently contradictory to a Power *not Subordinate* to that same Supremacy. Consequently one of the two Ordinals must be invalid. They own ours is valid, and pretend to derive their Orders from ours. Consequently they must own their Ordinal is invalid. For, in fine, if Words that do not otherwise signify Episcopacy, are determin'd to signify it by those other Parts of the Office, They must grant, That those other Parts determine it to such or such a Sort of Episcopacy, as well as to Episcopacy in general. And therefore to a false Episcopacy. Nay, That we need not question to what sort of Episcopacy the Form and whole Ordinal is determin'd, The Librarian pag. 154. would infer, That the Substance of Ordination, and of the *Intention* of
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the Church is preserved in the English Ordinations, because, says he, they have been perform'd according to the Laws in Force, and with a view to establish Ministers in the Church of England, who were wanting. How he could think this is the Intention of the Church, is very strange. Nor do I see what can be more certain in such Matters as these, than that Ordinations must be judged invalid where the Sense, the View, the Intent of the Ordinal and the Ordainers, was to establish such Ministers only as the Laws, then in Force, design'd, and the new model'd Church of England wanted. For, tho' as I have said, the private Intention of the Ordainer, tho' Erroneous, may be consistent with a valid Ordination, yet a publick, avowed, profess'd Intention, so express'd as to affect and determine the very Sense of the Form, must certainly render it invalid. If the Librarian has a Mind to have this confirm'd by the Doctrine of Vasquez, tho' I have not that Divine by me, yet I have a good Voucher for his Sense in this Point, in *Coninck*, q. 60. a. 8. *Dub. 1. N. 66.* In these Words.—“ *Forma*
“ *ex se dubia & indeterminata ad sensum*
“ *legitimum & falsum, continet in se ali-*
“ *quem defectum, ideoq; debet vel ab inten-*
“ *tione vel a circumstantis determinari, ut*
“ *sensum verum significet determinate. Hoc*
“ *autem casu potius determinatur ad con-*
“ *trarium. Quod maxime verum est quando*
“ *intentio Ministri est Astantibus aliquo modo*
“ *cognita. Tunc enim auditores omnes for-*
“ *mam in sensu falso intelligunt, & hunc*
“ *apud eos absolute significat.*” And he adds,
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That he takes this to be the Opinion of Vasquez.

153. Before I conclude this *Paragraph*, I must not omit to observe, That immediately after *Erastus Senior* had urged the Argument against the *English Form*, from it's *Indeterminateness* to signify the Order given, and replied to *Bramhall's Defence* in so close a Way, as was found to be unanswerable, the *Convocation* in 1662 alter'd the Form, and in that of Priests added to the Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost, These, for the Office and Work of a Priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our Hands*; and with respect to Bishops, for the *Office and Work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our Hands*. Thus, they in Effect own'd, That their original Forms were defective in the necessary Signification of the Order given. No, says *Williams*. They did not think that Change necessary for the Validity, but to convince the *Presbyterians*, That the Church of *England* held a Distinction between Priests and Bishops. Very strange! What? After a Hundred Years that the pretended Orders had been given, was it still a Point not sufficiently clear'd, That they held that Distinction? It seems then, That the other Parts of the Ordinal, and their Doctrine, had not sufficiently distinguish'd them. Or if they were already sufficiently distinguish'd, it was, at the least, a very weak Condescension to alter the solemn Forms without any need. It was moreover very unseasonable to do it, at a Time, when the Want of that Addition was

was so closely urged as an essential Defect. And why was it made just in those very Words, which were the very Form? And why did they make it so, as to confirm the general Perswasion, that those very Words are the Form? For to add, *now* committed to thee, is the same as to say *now*, at this very Time, by this very Action, and by these very Words the Order is given. But, says the *Librarian*, pag. 106. *They could not look upon this Addition as necessary without declaring all Ordinations made antecedently to the Addition of this Clause, to be null, and this never enter'd into the Thoughts of the Bishops, who made this Addition.* I grant it unavoidably follows, That they were ill ordain'd antecedently, if that Addition is necessary. I grant too, That all since will be invalid, because the Persons, who pretended to ordain, had not been themselves validly ordain'd. I grant also, That it is hard to imagine the Authors of that Addition should not perceive these Consequences; Yet still I maintain, That all the Circumstances shew they thought it necessary, that the Form should express the Order. Nor is there any great Wonder they should act so inconsistently. *Grindal* in 1582. declar'd, *Merison* a *Scotch Presbyterian Minister's* Ordination valid, tho' it had been perform'd without Imposition of Hands, even by any *Protestant Bishop*. *Bancroft* in 1610, and the other Bishops had own'd the *Presbyterian Ordination*. (Supra. N. 32.) The *University of Oxford* declares (N. 33.) That the *Calvinists Ordination* makes true Ministers, and that this has alwas been the Opinion of the

the Church of *England* Divines. And why must we then wonder they should on one hand think themselves sufficiently Bishops upon a Parliamentary Establishment and Form, and on the other Hand be forced to own they are no Bishops, if that Form be canvass'd, and therefore think it necessary to change it? The Fact is clear: The Inference seems no less clear. As to the Consistence of their Proceedings, let them look to it. The *Librarian* must not suppose we will grant his Assertions for fear his Protestants Friends should be convinced of acting inconsistently. He adds, "*The second Reason* (why that Addition cannot be thought necessary) is, that it is unprecedented, and there is nothing like it to be found, either in the ancient Pontificals, or in those which are now in the Church of *Rome*". How to call this Assertion, I know not. Sure I am it is void of Exactness. If he means, that the Words of *Priest*, or *Bishop* are not added in the Pontificals to those precise grammatical Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, this can be nothing to the Purpose. He knows and has proved those Words are either no Part of the essential Form, or at least not the whole Form; and we have shewed (N. 147.) That the ancient as well as modern Rituals, express the Episcopal Power in the Form of ordaining Bishops. And in the next Paragraph we shall see, that in the Form for Priests, Their Power is so express'd, as to give a farther manifest Proof of Invalidity in the new Ordinal.

§. 3.
Farther Proofs of the Invalidity of the English Ordinal.

154. The *Librarian*, tho' he has thus involv'd himself in a Defence, and a very wrong Defence of the *Indeterminateness* of the *English* Form, seems in the Main, to be persuaded, that it is at the Bottom indefensible. He therefore endeavours to escape another Way, by placing the Form in any general Prayer, as he often speaks, to beg Grace for the Elect to acquit himself worthily of his Charge; particularly in the Prayer, *Almighty God, Giver of all good Things, &c.* in which the Office of Priest or Bishop is express'd. I hope he did not think to impose upon unwary Readers, by making them imagine this Prayer, in which the Office is express'd, is the consecratory Prayer of the new Ordinal. Most certainly it cannot be look'd upon as such; for the Ordinal expressly observes, That in the Ordination of Bishops, that Prayer is said *before* the Archbishop *begins* the Ordination, and by Consequence, cannot be the consecratory Prayer or Form. To what Purpose then, is this Prayer insisted upon as a Proof, that the *English* Form determines the Power given by Ordination? Let us now grant him (tho' he intermixes many Mistakes in the Proof of it) That no fix'd and uniform Prayer is the *Essential* Form: Still it is plain, that the Prayer must not be so *general*, as not to specify the Order given. It is specified in the
 Pontifical

Pontifical, in several Words added to those *accipe Spiritum Sanctum*. It is specified in that Ordinal, which is perhaps, the most ancient now extant, of above *eleven* Hundred Years standing; in that of above 800 Years: In a Word, in all others publish'd by *Morinus*. (see him *pag.* 216. 222. 225. 235, &c.) It is therefore essential, That the Order should be express'd in the Form; which, we have seen, is wanting in the *English* Form. We have seen too from *Habert*, from *Mason*, from *Le Courayer*, and it is plain, from the Use of all ancient Rituals, and even from the Nature of the Thing, That the essential Form should express the principal End, the principal Effect, Power and Function to be given. And hence, we have a farther convincing Proof of the Invalidity of the *English* Form.

155. For, it being certain and granted, That the Form in whatever Part of the Ordinal it consists, or in whatever grammatical Expressions, must express the principal Power and Function of the Order, we argue thus: The principal Power and Function of Priesthood, for Example, is *sacrificing*: But sacrificing is not express'd in the *English* Form: Consequently, That Form is essentially defective and invalid: The Consequence is evident. The *major*, or first Proposition is so plain in the Principles of the Catholick Faith, that I cannot judge so ill of the *Librarian*, as to think he doubts of it. The Council of *Trent* has defin'd, That the *Eucharist* is not only a Sacrament, but also a *Sacrifice*, a *true and proper Sacrifice*: It condemns those, who say, it is only a *Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiv-*
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ing, or a mere Commemoration. It condemns those who say, That offering, or sacrificing the true Body of Christ, is only giving, or dispensing it in Communion: Not content with the evident Relation there is, in the Nature of the Things, between a true Sacrifice, and true sacrificing Priesthood, it expressly condemns those who say, That there is not in the Church a true, external, visible, sacerdotal Power, or a Power of consecrating and offering the true Body of Christ for the Living and the Dead. Nothing can be more evident, than that by those Decrees, there is a necessary and essential Connexion between the Priesthood and the Sacrifice, as its principal Function and Power. Accordingly, in all, both ancient and modern Rituals, the Power of sacrificing is express'd. Let a few Instances suffice.

156. Thus, in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, the Prayer which is call'd, *the Prayer of Ordination*. (cap. 24. lib. 8. Edition of *Bovius*) expressly begs, God will grant, that the Priest may worthily offer Sacrifices for the People, *Sacrificia pro populo tuo immaculata perficiat*. They had said above (cap. 3.) in the Prayer call'd *invocatio Ordinationis Episcopi*: *Da ei Domine omnipotens per Christum tuum participationem Sancti Spiritus, ut — placeat tibi in mansuetudine & mundo corde, firmiter & laudabiliter offerendo tibi mundam & incruentam hostiam*. In the Greek *Euchologium*, the Ordainer begs God will make the Priest worthy to stand irreproachably before his Altar, and to offer him Gifts and Sacrifices. The Roman Pontifical in Prayers call'd the *Consecration of the Priest*, begs, that God will give sacerdotal Grace, Gratia

Gratiæ sacerdotalis infunde virtutem, and explains the *sacerdotal* Function, by the Power of *Sacrificing* given to *Aaron*, and to the *Sacrificing* Priests of the old Law. And it is observable, That these very Prayers of the Pontifical are the same, which were used in the Time of *S. Gregory the Great*, and long before. In a Word: There is no opening any ancient Ritual, without meeting with *Sacrificing*, *Offering*, *sacerdotal Grace*, or *Power*, *Altars*, *Sacrifices*, *Victims*, &c.

157. On the contrary, I appeal to all Mankind, Whether any such Expressions appear in the *English* Ordinal. Did ever, or could any Man living, imagine by that Ordinal, that a *sacrificing Priesthood* was meant? The Word *Priest*, is indeed retain'd in some Places. But in the *critical* Place, which is every where represented as the Form, or the chief Part of it, that Word is banish'd. For fear any should misapprehend that Word in other Places of the Ordinal, Care is taken to examine the Candidate, Whether he thinks himself call'd to *Priesthood according to the Ordinance of the Realm*. This, fairly taken, imports, That no other Priesthood is going to be conferr'd upon him, than such as is according to the Constitution of the Realm. And is it not evident, that the whole Series of Doctrines establish'd in the *Church of England*, so call'd, is entirely opposite to the Doctrine of a true external Sacrifice? It is the Universal Doctrine of *Luther* and *Calvin*, that all external Sacrifice was at an End with that of the Cross. No Body every dreamt, that in Point of a true Sacrifice, the *English* differ'd

from other Protestants. They join'd in the general Cry, That Mass was Idolatry, no better than *Deceitful*, and even *blasphemous Fables*. Heylin, as Mr. Collier observes, pag. 325. says, those Articles of *Edw. VI.* were received as the *Doctrine of the Church of England*, the *five* first Years of Queen *Elizabeth*. And if the Word *Blasphemous* was afterwards left out, yet the Abhorrence of a Sacrifice was still retain'd, and abundantly express'd. In the second Liturgy of King *Edward*, such Expressions, as imported an external Sacrifice, were cancell'd. Before this, as Mr. Collier relates, pag. 304. *Hooper* preached earnestly at Court, That *Altars* might be changed into *Tables*, That by this Expedient, People might be cured of a *false Persuasion of the performing of Sacrifices*. Accordingly, by the King's Letter to *Ridley*, in 1550. *Altars* were ordered to be taken away upon this Reason, That an *Altar* was for *Sacrifice*, a *Table* for eating; and it adds, That in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, it is called an *Altar*, upon the Score of what? An external material Sacrifice? No: The *Sacrifice of Praise*, and That *Altars* were to be taken away for recovering People concerning the *Sacrifice of Mass*. In the second *Liturgy*, the Words *Altar* and *Priest*, were changed into *Minister* and *Table*. And as Mr. Collier again observes, pag. 310. remarkable Passages in the *Consecration of the Eucharist* were omitted. Thus we see great Care taken, That all Footsteps of a Sacrifice should be pared away. What can be infer'd, but That, where the Word *Priest* is retain'd, it has sufficiently by the publick Facts,

Facts, Doctrines, and Principles of the new Establishment, lost it's primitive Signification. The national Use and Doctrine has given it another Sense. A *sacrificing Priest* is evidently opposite to the Design and Intent both of the Liturgy and Ordinal. Both, in the Catholick Times, were clear for a Sacrifice: Both were therefore changed. It is impossible not to see, That the Words *Altar, Offering, Sacrifice, &c.* were left out for the same Reason. That the Author of a *Latin Dictionary* printed at Cambridge, is said to have omitted all the Words by which *Monarchy* is express'd, because he hated the Thing it self. The very Act of Parliament authorizing the *second Liturgy*, calls the Alterations in it, *Explanations*. This, fairly construed, implies, That *Altar*, and such other Words in the Former, were even then designed to mean Nothing like a true Sacrifice. And the *Ordinal* being annexed to this *Bill*, it must also be understood in the same Sense of *Explanations*; that is, in a Sense which explains all true external Sacrifice quite away. Accordingly, Catholicks, from the Beginning, objected that they denied the Power of Sacrificing. Protestants granted the Objection. Thus *Horn*, cited by *le Quien*, T. 2. pag. 237. declares a *sacrificing Priesthood* is *Papistical* and *Heretical*. That when he uses the Word *Sacerdos*, it is *improperly used*. Thus it is, that to this very Day, we see *Superintendants, Overseers, Elders, Parsons, Ministers, Preachers*, any Thing is the Word, but *Sacrificers*. Thus *Mason* in his first Edition, in his very Dedication, calls *Sacrificing* a *human Invention*,

disclaim'd as an Abomination; and pag. 260. That Our sacrificing Priesthood is Sacrilegious, &c.

158. How easy would it be, but how superfluous to bring a *Hundred* (I don't use that Word at Random) of Instances from the publick and private Declarations of the Doctrine of the pretended Church of *England*, That a *true sacrificing external Priesthood* is absolutely disclaimed. If then, we can judge of the Sense of an Ordinal, by the most certain Sense of those, who substituted it in Place of another, and chiefly because the other was look'd upon as false, superstitious, idolatrous, particularly, because it was a sacrificing Ordinal, we must conclude the *English* Ordinal is certainly invalid, since it has not any Expressions of that Function, which all others have, and should be expressed in Words, that could leave no Doubt. For if it were doubtful, whether, That principal Function were express'd in the Form, the Form would be doubtful at least. Now, it is morally certain, That it is not express'd, nor design'd to be meant; nay, That it was designedly omitted; it must then be morally certain, that it is invalid. Preaching, instructing, governing the People, is express'd in the *English* Ordinal: Offering, and sacrificing are not. The Catholick Church has ever used those, or equivalent Expressions. Can it then be imagin'd, that a new Sect, framing by their own Authority, and by their new Principles, a new Ordinal, can have the same Intention with the Church? That Sect refuses to use the Expressions found
in

in all Rituals. What can one think, but that both the Form and the Intention of this new Sect are different from that of the Church? You may tell us as much as you please, That *the inward Intention of the Priest contributes in Nothing to the Validity or Invalidity of a Sacrament.* This is one of the Librarian's ill-poized Expressions, pag. 153. Yet it is not conceivable, That either the Form, or the Intention of the Church can be thought, morally speaking, to be preserved, while her Expressions are rejected, and her Belief of a Sacrifice so entirely, so publicly disavowed. The Example he there urges of the *Arian* Baptism, is nothing to the Purpose. They used the same Form, they spoke as the Church speaks, in That Form. Thus far, they may possibly mean, what the Church means in general, notwithstanding their private particular Error: But if they not only in other Occasions declared their Error, but even in Baptism alter'd the usual Expressions, they could not then be supposed to have even a general Intention to perform in that very Act, what the Church do's. Their Baptism would then certainly be invalid. This is the Case of the *English* Ordinations. Not content with the strongest and most violent Declarations against the Church's Doctrine of *Sacrificing*, they refuse to use her Expressions. They substitute others, in which Nothing of the Church's Sense appears. How then can their Ordinations be thought valid?

159. In proposing the Argument against the *English* Ordinations from their not expressing the Power of Sacrificing, I have designedly

signedly waved insisting upon those Words of the Pontifical, which are used at delivering the Instruments, and of which the *Florentine Decree* says, *Forma Sacerdotij talis est: Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium in Ecclesia pro vivis & mortuis*. It would have become the *Librarian*, before he spoke so confidently against the Opinion of Divines in that Point, to have taken some Notice of that Decree. However, let it be supposed, that these precise Words are not the Form of Priesthood. Still it is positively decreed, That *Forma Sacerdotij TALIS est*. This can mean nothing less, than that the Substance, and Sense at least of the Form, is *such*. Hence I argue: It is of Faith, that the Form of the Pontifical is valid; and it is of Faith, that the Form of the Pontifical in whatever precise Words it consists, is *such* at least, as expressly or equivalently must import a Power of Sacrificing for the Living and the Dead: Therefore it is of Faith, that a Form, which does not import that Power, is invalid. But it is morally certain the *English* Form does not import that Power: I leave the *Librarian* to draw the Consequence, and to determine how far he thinks a Proposition is of Faith, when it follows from a *Major*, which is defined, and a *Minor*, which is morally certain. But let us suppose again, That it is not so certain that a Power of Sacrificing must be express'd in the Form: Yet it is certain, That when such a Power is express'd, the Form which expresses it will be invalid, if that Power so express'd, is essentially opposite to true Christian Priesthood. Now, in the Doctrine of the *English*, *such* a Power

is *Idolatrous*: consequently they must hold, that our Form, in which *such* a Power is express'd, must be invalid: Consequently their Orders must be invalid in their own Principles, since derived from ours, which by their Principles are *Idolatrous*, and consequently invalid. For certainly, a Form cannot be valid, which in it's avowed, proper, express and defined Sense, is *Idolatrous*. You might as well say, a Priest might be validly ordain'd by a Form, whereof the avowed and defined Sense should be this; *Receive Power to be a Priest of Belial*. And hence, by a Return of the Argument it follows, That Nothing can be more unreasonable, than to charge the Catholick Sacrifice with the Accusation of *Idolatry*, while they pretend Orders, from our Form, which imports such a Sacrifice.

160. Hence it further follows, that no one can say, to what Purpose are *Tridentine* or *Florentine* Decrees, and the *Popish* Doctrine of Sacrifices and Masses urged in this Question? Or with Mr. *Williams*, pag. 15. we must first prove *such* Doctrines before we can raise any Scruples upon this Head. For First, without proving them, it is enough, that we hold them, and that they are essentially included in the Sense of our Form. For, it follows from hence, that both their Form and ours cannot be valid, while they differ in so essential a Point as this? Secondly, If it follows from Catholick Principles, as we have seen it does, That the *English* Ordinations are invalid, this is enough against the *Librarian* at least: Since, God forbid, I should question his being a Catholick, notwithstanding his many unguarded Propositions.

Propositions. *Thirdly*, It follows, That it is very unchristianly, or unreflectingly done to suggest with Mr. *Williams*, That it is the Interest of the *Court of Rome*, which makes *Catholicks* deny the *English Orders*. For, since the Denial of their Orders is so closely connected with other defin'd Doctrines, there can be no Justice in attributing That, to such impious Motives, which must be attributed to Consistence of Doctrine. The *Librarian* indeed, never once, as far as I remember, mentions Mr. *Williams's* Book on this Subject; and he did very wisely; for, he might well imagine, That Author's violent Heats could only prejudice his Cause: But he unfortunately imitates him in other Things, as well as in insinuating, That *Catholicks* deny the *English Orders*, *Because there is an Interest to be maintain'd*.

161. From what has been said in this, and the precedent Paragraph, it is plain how much Protestants generally, and the *Librarian* with them, misrepresent the *English Ordinal*, as agreeing with the ancient Rituals, while they differ so essentially. *First*, In specifying the Order given. *Secondly*, The Power of sacrificing, which are both wanting in This. This needs no farther Proof. But it is not improper to observe, That Mr. *Williams* in appealing to the *Clementine Constitutions*, has thought fit to leave out, not only the Words already mention'd, importing a sacrificing Power (n. 156.) but also these: *Famulo tuo quem ad Episcopatum elegisti*, &c. which clearly specify the Order given: And, That Mr. *Collier* is very surprizing, where he alledges from *Morinus*,

rinus, an ancient *Mss.* of more than *eight hundred* Years, for an Instance of the Conformity of the *English Ordinal*, with those ancient Ones. Now, *Mr. Collier*, *pag.* 289. tells us, That in that ancient Ritual, in the Consecration of a Priest, *the Archbishop puts him on a Habit proper to his Character*, — Then the consecrated Elements being uncover'd, the Bishop puts a Piece of Bread into the Hands of the Person ordain'd, and laying his Hand upon his Head, bows his Body over the Holy Table. Is there any Thing like this in the *English Ordinal*? And how can it be pretended there is Nothing in the ancient Ordinals more significative of the Power of sacrificing, than in this new *Devise*? Besides; in *Mr. Collier's Records Numb.* 63. The Prayer for Bishops in that ancient *Mss.* particularly mentions their officiating in *sancto Altari*; at the holy *Altar*, not *Table*. It adds, That he is constituted, or ordain'd to offer *Sacrifices and Oblations for all the People*. I willingly judge better of *Mr. Collier* (who is generally a moderate Adversary) than to think he avoided Englishing those Particulars, for fear his English Readers should observe so essential a Difference from the new Ordinal. However, he fairly owns, That the Prayer mention'd, is said, *with respect to Ordination*. But it is not intelligible how he could add: *Thus the ancient Rituals for Ordination, agree with that drawn up in the Reign of K. Edward. VI.* For, besides, *First*, The *Omophorion*, or *Pallium* put on the Bishop; *Secondly*, The *Habit proper to his Character*, put on the Priest; *Thirdly*, The *three Crosses* made on both; *Fourthly*,
The

The Gospels put on the Bishop's Head ; Fifthly, The Bread in the Priest's Hands ; which are *five* very remarkable Differences ; There is nothing in K. Edward's, of *Altar, Sacrifices, &c.* And here I leave this Point of the Invalidity of the *English* Form, till the *Librarian's* Method will bring it up again, particularly in §. 2. chap. 9. of these Remarks.

162. Only before I conclude this Paragraph, I think I ought not to omit giving some other particular Instances of some strange Propositions advanc'd in the two Chapters we have been upon. It is not with any hard Design of loading him with *odious Consequences*, but that Catholicks may see how unaccurate at least he is, and consequently how little to be relied upon ; and that Protestants may see they have very slender Reason to boast of a Catholick Defendent of their Orders, since he does it in a Way, which no other Catholick in the World can approve. For Example, *First*, What Catholick will approve his strange Expression, *pag. 100.* where speaking of the *Eastern Churches*, he says, *Rome considers their Independance as criminal.* Does not he consider it too, as such ? *Secondly*, When he says in the same Place, *if the English had once the Liberty of receiving the Roman Pontifical, they have still that of rejecting or reforming it.* Does he think there is no Difference between an Original Liberty of receiving Points of Discipline, and a Liberty of rejecting them in Defiance, in Opposition, in a Schismatical Revolt from a receiv'd and establish'd Authority ? Does he make no Distinction between the *Ecclesiastical Powers* of

of a *true* and a *false Church*? Has a *false Church* all the same Powers *still*, which it had when it was a *true Church*? Can her rejecting the most solemn Ecclesiastical Usages, be justly call'd a *Reform*? *Thirdly*, When he says pag. 113. the Prayers and Advices are at least as proper and characteristical in the *Ordinal* as in the *Pontifical*: We have already seen the contrary. Here, I only ask, whether by the Words, at least, he would have it thought the *Ordinal* is preferable? We may wish he had left this a questionable Point. For, he had said two Lines before, That the *Questions in the English Ordinal* seem much better adapted to *Bishops*, than those of the *Pontifical*. Let these Instances suffice for the present.

C H A P. VIII.

Remarks upon the Librarian's Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Chapters.

163. **T**HESE four Chapters of the *Librarian's Book*, tho' they make a full third Part of the whole, are in the far greatest Part very insignificant to the main Question. I shall therefore dispatch them in a few Remarks.

§. I.

§. 1.

Of Bishop Bonner's Plea against Horn, and of the famous Statute in 1566, occasion'd by it.

164. The *Librarian's* eighth Chapter is intitled, That *the Form of King Edward VI. was not prohibited by Law, when Parker was consecrated.* But how he came to call this our second Difficulty, against the *Validity* of that Form, is not easy to imagine. Had he a Mind to have it look as if we were at a Loss for Proofs against it, while he makes us urge *That* against the *Validity* of the Form, which properly speaking, is nothing at all to the *Validity*? For, as *Burnet* cited pag. 130. observes rightly, upon the *Letter of the Law*, no Conclusion can be drawn against (or for) the *Validity of the Ordinations*, consider'd as a *Sacred and Ecclesiastical Act*, but only as a *Civil and Legal One*. Nor did ever any *Divine* pretend the Form is invalid, merely because not authoriz'd by the *Civil Law*. And the Case of *Bishop Bonner*, which the *Librarian* has strangely misrepresented, more properly regards the *Fact*, than the *Validity* of the Form of *Horns*, and consequently of the other new *Bishop's Ordination*. The *Fact* in short was this: *Horn*, the new *Bishop of Winchester*, tender'd the Oath of Supremacy to *Bishop Bonner*, then Prisoner in the *Marshalsea*, which was within the Diocese of *Winchester*. *Bonner* refuses to take it. *Horn* certifies his Refusal into the *King's-Bench*; whereupon

upon, Bonner being indicted, he moved by his Council, whether he might not give in Evidence upon this Issue, as it is in *Dyer's Reports*, *quod ipse non est inde culpabilis, eo quod dictus Episcopus de Winchester non fuit Episcopus, tempore oblationis sacramenti*. After a long Debate, it was resolved by all the Judges, That if the Verity and Matter be so indeed, he should be well received to give in Evidence upon this Issue, and the Jury should try it. This gravel'd Horn. He sought Delays for near two Years, unwilling to have the Fact of his Ordination tried by a Jury. I say the Fact. For, as *Erastus senior* observes, (*chap. 18*) "The Point of Law, viz. Whether the Form of *Edw. VI.* were Legal, or, Whether One consecrated by That Form were a Bishop, was not to be put to the Jury, but to be determined by the Judges, and the Jury to try only the Matter of Fact, Whether he were so consecrated. If therefore the Judges had deliver'd it for Law, That Horn, if so consecrated, was a Bishop, and he could have proved he was so consecrated (as was easy for him to do, if the Records be true) the Jury must have found him a Bishop, or have incurred an *Attaint*; which there was no Reason to fear they would do, in such a Case as that, where the Queen was Plaintiff, a Protestant Bishop, and their Neighbour, and Landlord to most of them, (being *Southwark Men*) the Prosecutor, all the Bishops in the Land (made by the new Form) extremely interested in the Verdict, and only a Papist, generally hated, and deprived of all Office

“ and Power in the State, and then a Prisoner, the *Defendant*.”

165. Nothing can be stronger in a Point of this Nature, and it seems next to a Demonstration, That the *Fact* of *Horn's* Consecration by that Ordinal, could not stand the Verdict of a Jury so favourable. It is manifest Shuffling in the *Librarian*, and his Protestant Authors, to pretend that *Bonner's* Plea in denying *Horn* to be a Bishop, was chiefly upon Account of the new Ordinal having been repealed by Name in Queen *Mary's* Reign, and not re-establish'd by Name in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. I grant he might insist upon this as one Reason: And whoever pleases may see it strongly supported by *Erastus senior*. But it is evident, that was neither his onely, nor his chief Reason. Mr. *Collier's* Relation evidently proves it. “ Before the Cause came on, says he, pag. 493. *Bonner* drew up his Plea against *Horn's* Character in his own Hand.— He pretends, Mr. *Robert Horn*, as he stiles him, was no better than an Intruder into the See of *Winchester*: That he was neither elected, nor consecrated pursuant to the Canons of the Catholick Church, nor the *Laws and Statutes of this Realm*. Against the *Legality* of his Consecration, he cites 25. *Hen. 8. cap. 20.* by which Statute, as *Bonner* understands it, he that is to be consecrated, must have one Arch-bishop, and two Bishops, or else four Bishops to perform the Ceremony, which Circumstance was wanting at *Horn's* Consecration.” Then Mr. *Collier* adds the Reason mention'd, and some others. Hence it is manifest, That
Bonner

Bonner knew nothing of the *Lambeth-Consecration*. According to that, as the *Librarian* owns, pag. 120. *Horn* was consecrated by *Parker*, assisted by the Bishops of *St. David's*, *London*, and *Coventry*. Consequently *Bonner* and his Council (the three eminent Lawyers, *Plowden*, *Wray*, and *Lovelace*) must have been eminently Mad to insist upon that Statute of *Henry* the VIIIth, if it was notorious, that *Horn* was consecrated by them, and that they were legal Bishops. In a Point to be tried by a favourable Jury, nothing could be more extravagant, than to insist upon the Denial of so publick a Fact. *Bonner* and his Council, were too able Men not to see, that the Plea of the *Invalidity* of *Horn's* Character, from his being made contrary to the Catholic Canons, would be over-ruled. They cast the Issue therefore upon two Points of Law. One, that he had not been consecrated by the Number of Bishops appointed by Law; the other, that even supposing that Number had consecrated him, either they did it according to the Pontifical, which was now illegal; or according to the new Ordinal, and that not being yet re-established by Name, his Consecration would still be illegal. The more this latter Part is pretended by our Adversaries to be a mere Cavil, the more they must grant the other Illegality from the Defect of the legal Number of Consecrators, must have been *Bonner's* Refuge; and yet this Plea could never have been thought of by any Man in his Senses as a distinct and better Argument, than that from the *Invalidity* and *Illegality* of the new Ordinal, if they could not produce

good Evidence to the Jury, that the new Ordinal had not been used in those Consecrations. For this, in fine, must have been the Fact to be tried by the Jury. And what Tryal could this bear, what could make *Horn* delay the Tryal, if there were Thousands of Witnesses, as is pretended, of the Fact of their *Lambeth* Consecration? Mr. *Collier* indeed, when he had said, *the Judges unanimously resolved the Jury was to try whether Horn were Bishop or not*; adds, *This was a nice Point, and the Reader will be apt to imagine, the Jury and Bench ought to be well furnish'd with Ecclesiastical Learning to pronounce upon the Case.* But I know not of what sort of a Reader he speaks. For, a considerate Reader will imagine no such Thing. The *Bench* was only to pronounce upon the Episcopacy of *Horn*, in the Eye of the *English* Law. This required no great Ecclesiastical Learning. The *Jury* was only to pronounce upon the *Fact*: And this required no more than to hear a few of the *Thousand* Witnesses from *Lambeth*, or to have the *Register* produced. The Parliament indeed put a Stop to the Prosecution, and declared *Horn* to be a true Bishop. How well furnish'd both Houses were with Ecclesiastical Learning and Power to pronounce upon the Case, we may leave Mr. *Collier* to imagine; or rather, to do him Justice, his History in several Places shews, I think, That he is persuaded, such Decrees do not belong to the Secular Courts.

The *Librarian*, pag. 120. pretends, that if *Bonner*, and after him *Stapleton*, reproach'd *Horn* for not being consecrated, it was not for want

want of knowing their *Lambeth* Consecration, but because they thought him consecrated after a Manner, that was not *Canonical* and *Legal*, and therefore Invalid. This is grievously misrepresenting them. They were both too good Scholars, not to distinguish between a *Canonical*, and a *Valid* Ordination. To what I have said above of *Stapleton*, I will only add here, That he expressly says, they were found in *Bonner's* Case to be only *Larvati Episcopi*, that is, *Sham Bishops*, by a *Sham Consecration*. He expressly distinguishes between a Consecration made according to the *Canons*, and according to the *Statutes* : And says, it was *notorious*, they were not consecrated according to either. *Quis Nescit te tuosq; collegas non dicere aliter quam requirunt Canones, sed nec secundum præscriptum Statutorum Vestrorum ordinatos esse?* He says in express Words, That he is neither Bishop according to the *Statutes*, nor according to the *Canons*. *Bonner* also evidently distinguished between a *Canonical* and *Legal* Consecration, and a *valid* one ; and maintain'd that *Horn* wanted every one of them. They consequently denied he was consecrated by such a Consecration, as that of *Lambeth*. *Bonner* particularly, made the Defect of the Number and Quality of Bishops, required by the Statute 25. *Hen. 8.* a Special Plea against *Horn*, and a distinct Argument from that, of the new Ordinal not being *legally* re-establish'd.

166. And now I think it very superfluous to examine the Ten or Eleven long Pages wherein *Le Courayer* contends, That it was evident the new Ordinal had been re-establish'd. But it is worth observing, how in the Course

of his Propositions here, he contradicts himself in another material Point. Pag. 125. He expressly says, *the Parliament of 1566 declared all the Ordinations made under Queen Elizabeth, according to King Edward's Ordinal, to be VALID; as appears by that Act.* Again Pag. 126. He says by that Statute, the Ordinations made in Queen Elizabeth's Time are declared good and VALID: And, That the Parliament determin'd about the *VALIDITY* of the Ordinations. And yet pag. 145. He says, "The Statute does not so much as hint, that any Defects relating to the Consecrations affected its Validity; it rather supposes, That they did not affect it in the least, because the English Divines are of the same Opinion with us, That the Civil Power can never make an Ordination valid, that was attended with any essential Defect: And that tho' the Prince or Parliament might declare whether the Ordinations were valid or no, yet they could never make them valid, unless they were so of themselves before." Now in the first Place, to declare or pronounce upon the *Validity* of Ordination, requires more Ecclesiastical Learning, than can be supposed to come to the Share of every Prince, especially a Woman; and of every Parliament, especially where the Bishops are, or may be excluded. 2d. To pronounce upon *Validity* of Sacraments, is a *Doctrinal* Point. Such Decisions, I hope, the *Librarian* does not think are within the Bounds of the Civil Power. 3d. Tho' the *English* do not say the Parliament can make that valid, which in it self is invalid, (this indeed would be too glaring an Absurdity,)

dity,) yet they lodge in the Parliament a Power of declaring That to be valid, which the Church never judg'd valid, before nor since ; Nay, tho' the Church should declare it invalid : Just as they allow it to declare *Mass* Idolatrous, tho' the Church declares it, a most Holy Sacrifice. 4th. It is very plain, That the Act occasion'd by *Bonner's* Plea, relates to Doubts and Defects which affect the Validity : And this deserves to be farther consider'd

167. *Bonner's* Case, tho', as I said, it properly regards the *Fact* of *Horn's* Consecration, rather than the Validity ; yet, all grant it was the particular Occasion of the famous Statute in 1566, by which the new Prelates were declared, and not declared only, but *enacted* to be Validly Ordain'd. “ Notwithstanding this “ State-Provision for Consecration, (says Mr. “ *Collier*, pag. 509,) there's no Reason to re- “ proach the *English* Hierarchy upon this “ Score, or call the Bishops *Parliamentary* Pre- “ lates — for the Force of their Chara- “ cter — depends upon Consecration and “ Spiritual Conveyance : Neither does the Con- “ secration derive it's Significancy from any “ Regulations of the Civil-Legislature.” But if so, it then follows, the Queen had no Authority to *Dispense*, as the Act runs, with all *Causes* or *Doubts* of any *Disabilities*, that can or may be objected. Her Power may reach, if you will, to other meer *Illegalities* : but not to any *Disabilities*. But then again, her Dispensation, unless it extends to the Validity of Consecration, will not reach to all *Bonner's* Plea, which was upon the Nullity of *Horn's* Character,

racter, not only from *Civil* Defects, but upon
 others also. And when Mr. Collier adds :
Thus much I conceive may be collected from the
Act, in which Bishops and Priests are call'd the
Ministers of God's Holy Word and Sacraments,
which Denomination supposes a Divine Com-
mission ; when, I say, he urges this, he should
 remember he has answer'd it himself before-
 hand. For, speaking of the Commissions
 which affirm'd all *Ecclesiastical*, as well as
Civil Authority, is derived originally from the
 King, he says pag. 219. *If this holds, the*
Power of the Keys must be lodged with the se-
cular Magistrate. And as he there observed,
 that what those Commissions seem'd to say of
 the Divine Power of Bishops, *seems inconsistent ;*
 So pag. 170. He had spoken more positively in
 these Words : “ After the King had declared
 “ himself Patriarch in his Dominions, claim'd
 “ all Manner of Spiritual Authority ———
 “ after this, these Words are thrown into the
 “ Commission, to give it the more passable
 “ Complexion, *Præter et ultra ea quæ tibi ex*
 “ *sacris litteris divinitus commissæ esse dignos-*
 “ *cuntur.* Now, with Submission, this Clause
 “ comes in too late, and is *utterly inconsistent*
 “ with the other Part of the Commission.”
 Thus he : And is it not evident, That the
 Divine Commission, which might seem to be
 implied in the Words, *Ministers of God's Holy*
Word and Sacraments, is utterly inconsistent
 with the Queen's *absolute, supreme, dispensing*
Power, in all *Spiritual*, as well as *Civil* Authori-
 ties, Jurisdictions, Disabilities, Doubts, &c ?
 Is it not evident too, That unless She dispens'd
 with the Character of the Ordainers, and the
 Validity

Validity of the Ordinal, or the Want of both, nothing was done to ascertain the Character of the new Prelates? Unless she has a Power to make any Persons, and any Form sufficiently capable to convey or receive Episcopal Authority, their Episcopacy still must remain under the Original Difficulties. For, if you suppose she had no Influence upon the Validity of the Consecration, (whatever Sort of one it was,) you make this Statute perfectly useless to the removing the Doubts alledg'd by *Bonner* and others. Nay, you will make the Act perfectly absurd: For, the Sense will then run thus: *Whereas we have no Authority to dispense with Disabilities that affect the Validity, yet we dispense with all Disabilities that have or may be objected; tho' several of the objected Disabilities and Defects, regard the Validity.* If her Power has no Influence upon the Validity, how can it remove the Doubts which are out of its Reach? As long then as these Doubts continue, they can only be call'd *Parliamentary Prelates*, because they have no other superior Authority to ascertain their Character. A Parliamentary Security may do for other Funds, but not for those, of Episcopacy and Religion. It is an Advantage indeed for them to have the Parliament of their Side: But while a Parliamentary Sanction is their *Final Appeal* in Doubts, they must in all Reason be deemed no more than *Parliamentary*.

168. I omit other Reflections upon this Act, and upon *Bonner's* Plea; but I must not omit taking Notice of an Objection made by *Bramball* and *Williams*, which they seem to think a very smart one, viz. That if *Neal* had

had inform'd *Bonner* of the *Nag's-head* Consecration, *Bonner* would never have grounded his Plea against *Horn*, upon the Illegality of the new Ordinal, but upon that sham Consecration at the Tavern. I answer, That *Bonner's* (not in his Tryal, for that his Enemies never dared to bring on, but in his Papers) alledging the Want of the Number of Bishops prescrib'd by the Statutes, as a Reason of his denying *Horn* to be a Bishop, plainly shews he design'd to prove, that *Horn* was not consecrated, according to the new Ordinal and Register. That Ordinal requir'd the statutable Number of Consecrators, and the Register names them, and the Fact must have been notorious. Consequently, *Bonner* could not possibly insist upon the Defect of the Number of his Consecrators, but in Supposition of his Consecration being perform'd at the *Nag's-head*, or some such Way. *Horn* knew he had Proofs of it, he dreaded the Proofs, and therefore never brought it to a Tryal. If this had ever came on, *Neal* and others might have been produc'd for Witnesses: And if *Bonner's* Plea drawn up in his own Hand, mentions that other Reason of the Ordinal not being re-establish'd, it is only a subsidiary Point of Law, which might be alledg'd, without granting the new Ordinal was actually us'd in *Horn's* Consecration. In the Scheme drawn up by *Bonner*, there was no Need to specify the Proofs he design'd to produce at his Trial, upon the Heads he had a Mind to urge; and *Horn's* never daring to put him to his Proofs, is a convincing Argument, That his Cause, as to the very Fact of his

his Consecration, could never stand the Verdict of a Jury, tho' never so favourable, as we have already observ'd.

169. What has been said in this Paragraph, as well as in several Remarks from *Harding, Stapleton, Sanders, &c.* shews, That altho' Catholicks urg'd, That the new Bishops were illegally, as well as invalidly ordain'd: Yet when they urge, That they were not consecrated according to their own Statutes, they particularly mean, That even their own new Ordinal was not used. Let me add, a farther Proof of this, from the *Answer to the Libel of the English Justice*. The English Edition of this Book, has no Year, nor Place of the Printing in the whole Title Page. However, the Lord *Burleigh's* Book, to which it answers, was printed in 1583. and the Latin Edition, *Ad Persecutores Anglos Responsio*, was printed in the *Concertatio* in 1589. The Author had been formerly a Parson. chap. 3. pag. 41. He says, "The English Clergy consists of un-
"order'd Apostates — That they know, and
"it has been prov'd in open Court, That they
"not only usurp those Places (of Bishops)
"against God's and the Church's Laws,
"but that they even were not made and in-
"vested, according to the new Laws of the Realm
"specially made for the Consecration of them."
In the Latin, which was done by the same Author, it is: *Contra leges de illis creandis & initiandis propriè latis*. Is it not evident, That the Laws specially made for their Consecration, means the new Ordinal? It is therefore evident, That Catholicks meant, that even That was not us'd in their Consecration.
Here

Here then we have another early, and well inform'd Author, against the *Lambeth Account*.

§. 2.

Of the Heretical Opinions of the Authors of the new Ordinal.

170. It is wonderful, how the *Librarian* treats this Point in his *Ninth Chapter*. His first Proposition in it, seems a very uncharitable Insinuation at least, and his next is a plain Contradiction to himself. His first Words are pag. 146. *The Advantage that arises from attempting to invalidate Parker's Consecration, has brought every Thing in Play, that tends to destroy the Authority of the Ordinal us'd in that Ceremony.* I wish with all my Heart, That by the *Advantage*, he could be fairly understood to mean any Thing better than, the Suggestion he has unhappily given more than once, That it is not Truth but *Interest* that makes us maintain the Invalidity of *Parker's Ordination*; and all the Answer this deserves, is, to wish him better Sentiments, or better Expressions. He then says: *At first it was denied, that the Ordinal was made use of at all, and this was what produced the Nag's-head Fable.* Men indeed, That could be capable of denying notorious Facts, meerly because they have an unjustifiable *Interest* to maintain, may well be capable of inventing a Fable. But it happens well for us, That he justifies us from the Calumny, by contradicting himself. For, if it was *first* denied, That the Ordinal

dinal was made use of at all ; then the *Fact* of *Parker's* Consecration at *Lambeth*, was already denied *before* the *Nag's-head* Affair was particularly publish'd. Consequently, the *Fact* of that *Lambeth* Account, must have been denied before the Beginning of *K. James* the First's Reign, since even *Le Courayer* grants the *Nag's-head* Story was then produc'd. Nay, he very obligingly carries this Story up higher than the Year 1564. For, he adds in the third Sentence of this Chapter: *In Process of time it was asserted, this Ordinal was at that time (of Parker's Consecration) contrary to Law.* These Words, plainly regard the Case of *Bonner*, which he had been speaking of in the Chapter before. Since therefore that Objection made in 1564, in *Bonner's* Case, was made *in Process of time*, that is, *after* the Denial of the Ordinal having been us'd at all, we have this Denial carry'd up beyond the Year 1564. Consequently, the *Lambeth* notorious Fact was denied within about four Years, after it is pretended to have happen'd. And, how could this be denied so soon, unless some other Consecration, than that of *Lambeth* could then be produc'd ? And what other but that of the *Nag's-head* ? It was not therefore, the denying that the Ordinal was us'd, which produc'd the *Nag's-head* Story, but it was this Passage, which made Catholics deny the Ordinal had been us'd at all.

171. His next Proposition is no less strange, and contains in few Words, two Suppositions, which are both clearly wrong. *At present, this Debate*, says he, *is reduced to so low*

low an Ebb, as to maintain the Ordinal, is invalid, because drawn up by Hereticks. This supposes, First, That the *Nags-Head* Consecration, is an Objection, which has in a Manner ebb'd away, whereas we have seen it flows in upon them, as strong as ever. And Secondly, That our main Argument now is, because the Authors of the Ordinal were Hereticks, whereas this is, strictly speaking, none of our Arguments at all. It is true indeed, That when Rituals are drawn up by Hereticks, there is good Reason to examine them narrowly, to see if the Substance of Sacraments is preserved. This we find preserved in the *English* Baptism, but not in their Orders. We therefore allow of That, but not of These: Nor do we judge of either precisely, by their Heresies, but by examining what affects the Substance of Sacraments. It was therefore entirely useless for this Author, to bring Arguments to prove, That the Errors of the Ordainers, or of Authors of the Ordinal, are not sufficient to conclude the Ordinations are invalid: This we readily grant. It was therefore throwing away his Erudition, to prove it against us. And I defy him to produce any Catholick, that ever grounded the Invalidity of the *English* Ordinations, since the Beginning of this Debate, upon this Proposition (which he says, pag. 153. is the Point here) That the Invalidity of an Ordinal, which otherwise retains all that is essential, depends upon the private Opinions of those, who drew it up. He at length, seems something sensible of this, and after having proved against no Body (for no Body contests it) That the Validity does

does not depend on Men's private Errors, he adds, pag. 157. *It may be said—That it is true, the Minister's Errors cannot invalidate Sacraments.* Yet this is but a lame Acknowledgment of a most certain Truth, since it not only *may be said*, but most unquestionably is said, and was constantly said by Catholicks in this Debate, with a very general Consent.

172. He then objects to himself, *That it may be said, that Principle (of Errors in the Authors not invalidating an Ordinal) is granted, but that the Application in this Case, is not just, since this Ordinal was drawn up in direct Opposition to that used by the Church, and that the Change, is not in the Rite only, but an entire Change of the Form.* Now this not only *may be* objected, but is so. And we have proved the entire Opposition and Change. And as we have answer'd the Instance he here brings of the *Arian Baptism*, so it is nothing to his Purpose, to cite pag. 157. These Words of F. Alexander. *Si adjungeret—verba non quasi partem formæ Sacramentalis esse vellet, sed ut errorem suum indicaret, aut alios in eandem Heresim pertraheret, vera esset ac rata Consecratio, modo intenderet facere quod facit Ecclesia.* For the same F. Alexander, even as cited by this Author, pag. 181. says expressly: *Additio verborum quæ debitum formæ Sacramentalis sensum corrumpunt, tollit veritatem Sacramenti.* And again, he there only says, *That an heretical Addition, does not invalidate a Sacrament, when the Addition (or Change) does not affect the Form.* *Si tamen formam non afficiat nec in*
eam

eam refundatur. Whereas we have seen the *English Errors affect* the Form, leaving out essential Expressions, used in all Ages, and determining the *Ordainer*, the *Hearers*, and the *Ordinal*, to an heretical Sense upon the principal End and Function of the Order to be given. In vain does the *Librarian* tell us, pag. 158. That the *English Ordinal was not intended as an opposite Form to that of the Church*, and that *this is evident from the Declaration made by the Prelates and Divines, who were deputed for this Work; That they made the Canons of the Council of Carthage, their Rule to go by.* For First, They made no such Declaration of not opposing the Form of the Church, and their whole Conduct, the whole Series of their Heresies, shew they directly contemn'd the Authority of the Church, and changed her Ordinal, because they changed her Doctrine. Secondly, If they declared, of which I find no Proof but *Heylin's* supposing it, That they made the Council of *Carthage* their Rule, this was only a Pretence, just as they pretend to make Scripture and the primitive Doctrine, their Rule to go by. Will the *Librarian* pretend it is evident they intend no Heresies contrary to the Church, because they pretend to take those Rules for their pretended Reformation? Thirdly, As it is evident, the Council of *Carthage* delivers no particular Form, so it is manifest they abandon that Council in other Points concerning Orders, as well as in casting out the lesser Orders, of which that Council has a very particular Account.

173. Now as to the *Fact*, Whether those who drew up the Ordinal, were Hereticks, and particularly, in Point of Ordination, I beg leave to observe, That *le Courayer*, manages it in a very unaaccountable and fallacious Manner. He pretends to prove the Majority of those, who drew up the Ordinal, were not Hereticks; because the Answers to most of the Questions proposed to them concerning the Sacraments, are most of them given opposite to the Errors of *Cranmer* and *Barlow*, as may be seen in them at large, in the Records produced by *Burnet* and *Collier*; and he pretends the same Persons were employed in drawing up the Ordinal, who drew up the *first* Liturgy. But how extremely fallacious is this Account? The Committee, in which those Answers were given, consisted of *eighteen* Bishops and *six* Divines, in 1548. The greatest Part of these, I grant, were Catholics. Accordingly, notwithstanding some Changes in the Liturgy, the Body of the *Mass* was retained, and the Canon of it, still in *Latin*. The Year after, this Way of saying *Mass* was suppress'd by Parliament. Another Committee, consisting only of *six* Bishops and *six* Divines, drew up the *first* Liturgy in *English*. It was therefore, as different a Committee from the Former, as *eighteen* is from *six* Bishops. It was a Committee of *six* Bishops also, and *six* Divines, which drew up the Ordinal, as the *Librarian* owns, pag. 198. He there names them; and the very Act of Parliament for *devising* (that is the special Word) a new Ordinal, mentions, That it was to be committed to *six* Bishops, and *six*

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Divines.

Divines. This Committee framed both the *second* Liturgy, and the Ordinal. But even this Committee was not of the same *six* Bishops, who drew up the first *English* Liturgy, which was presently suppress'd, as having too many Remains of a Sacrifice. *Day* of *Chichester*, and *Thirlby* of *Westminster*, were of the Committee, who fram'd the *first* Liturgy, but not of the *Second*. *Burnet* owns they protested in Parliament against the Abolishing the ancient *Missals* and *Rituals*. *A Bill for the Form of ordaining Ministers* — was agreed to; the Bishops *Duresme*, *Carlisle*, *Worcester*, *Chichester* and *Westminster* protesting against it. The *Librarian* having read and quoted, *pag.* 199. such Particulars, how could he pretend that those, who gave Catholick Answers to the Questions, 1548, were the same who drew up the Ordinal? And did he not know, That *Heylin* expressly says, the Bishop of *Chichester* was left out of the Committee for the devising the New Ordinal; and that *Mr. Collier* says, *pag.* 288. That Bishop *Heath* was one appointed for drawing up the New Ordinal; but for refusing to consent to the Draught of it, was call'd before the Council on the 8th of *February*, and committed to the Fleet on the 8th of *March*. And do's not this shew, That no Catholick Bishops would allow the New Ordinal?

174. The *Librarian's* Account is moreover fallacious; because, altho' it were granted that those, who are named to draw it up at first, were not Hereticks, yet those, who had the final modelling, and the authorizing of it, were certainly Hereticks, particularly in the Points

Points of *Sacrifice* and *Orders*. Especially *Cranmer*, who was at the Head of all, in his Answers, which are at large in *Mr. Collier's* Records, expressly holds, That Bishops and Priests are *all one*, and not different by Christ's Institution: That *Consecration* is not required, but *Election* and *Appointment* even of the Prince, is sufficient: That *Laymen*, in Case of Necessity, have Authority to make Priests, &c. It is no less certain, he was a Heretick in Point of a Sacrifice. It is equally certain, That King *Edward* was in the like Principles. *Mr. Collier*, pag. 332. concluding his *Fourth Book*, says, *He was tinctur'd with Erastian Principles, gives a hard Character of Bishops, would have no Authority given in general to Bishops, was educated to an Opinion of his being the Fountain of all Spiritual as well as Temporal Power, and had an Aversion to the Mass.* Such a Metropolitan, and such a Prince, would take Care, who they employ'd in *devising* an Ordinal, that should leave no Room for *Mass*, or true *Hierarchy*. Such Men were easily to be pick'd out. And it is to be observ'd, That *one only Bishop*, with *six Doctors*, was enough to cast the Form: For, the Parliament had enacted, That such, as it should be devised by the *Majority* of the *Twelve*, should stand good as soon as the King had put his Seal to it, which he certainly would never do, till he was satisfy'd, That it sufficiently excluded a Power of Sacrifice, and left Episcopacy no more Power, than from his Deputation. The essential Connection, which was to be between the new Liturgy and the new Ordinal, leaves not the least Room to question, what Sort of Men would be chosen

to frame it, and upon what Principles. The Share which *Peter Martyr, Bucer, Alasco* and *Calvin* had in modelling the New Religion in those Times, their Influence in abrogating the First Liturgy, their Counsels in drawing up the Second, are too well known to be proved; and as they are refuted by *Bret, Collier*, and others, so they are very sure Grounds to judge of the Sense of the Ordinal, and the Devisers of it. The *two and forty Articles* were drawn up by Men of the like Principles. *Cranmer, Bucer, Ridley, Alasco, &c.* who were the Chief at the Work, took Care those Articles should still clearly tend to the same Doctrines, and confirm what Sort of Orders were meant. In those Articles they allow only of two Sacraments; and after having spoken of *Calling*, and *Sending*, and *Election*, without one Word of *Ordaining* and *Consecrating*, they add: *Those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and sent by Men, who have publick Authority given to them.* Burnet fairly owns, That this Article allows *Laymen* to be sufficient Ministers, without Episcopal Ordination; and the very wording of it imports as much: And this is still clearer from the next Article, which excludes *Order* from being a true Sacrament. And affirming *it has no visible Sign or Ceremony ordain'd of God*, they deny Imposition of Hands to be a Sign ordain'd of God, to give inward Grace and Power, or any Power that may not be given by meer Human Authority, or by Commission or Deputation from the Prince. In these Principles, to the Words of the *Acts* of the Apostles, where they say, *when they had ordain'd Elders*, the Words by *Election* were thrust

thrust in by *Tindal*, and retain'd both by *Cranmer*, and in the Editions of *Q. Elizabeth*; tho' afterwards left out in the Bibles of *K James the First*. A fair Hint, That till then, they thought *Election* without Ordination, enough for them. And can it be wonder'd, That such an Ordinal, drawn up by such Men, and such Principles, has been always thought invalid?

175. The *Librarian*, pag. 151. would have us think, That *Cranmer* had not the main Influence in framing the Ordinal. This he would infer, *First*, Because *Cranmer* was worsted in the Affair of the *Six Articles*, and the Majority of the Prelates and Divines opposed his Sentiments upon the Questions propos'd in 1548. But how weak is this Inference, since those Prelates were not of the Committee for the Ordinal, and probably were left out of it, because they opposed his Sentiments; and some of the Divines, who then seem'd in Part to differ from him, were afterwards perverted. As to the *Six Articles*, they were made some Years before. Heresy was now wider spread; the young King was thoroughly tainted; the governing Party was so too; and *Cranmer*, under the Name of the King, ruled the Church-Affairs, growing daily bolder in his Errors, and stronger in his Power and Adherents. What Wonder then, he should be able to do now, what he could not before? 2dly, He would infer, That *Presbyterian* Principles did not regulate the Liturgy and Ordinal, because *Calvin was shock'd at Episcopacy being preserv'd in England*. But the very Words he cites of *Calvin*, do not say one Syllable of the Ordinal, or of the Episcopacy in *England*, such as it

was. And since *Calvin* censured, (for he was every where censorious, and as Mr. *Collier* observes, thought himself wiser than any, or all Churches either new or old,) since he censured other smaller Matters in the *English* Changes, and says nothing of the Episcopacy, it is a strong Argument, That he was well assur'd, That the new Episcopacy was not, at the Bottom, different from such a Church-Government as he allowed: Especially since he applauds the Happiness of *England*, in having such a *Prelate* as *Cranmer* at their Head, to carry on the Work. Nor is there the least Mention of his disapproving the Ordinal, or the *English* Prelacy: While *Calvin* in his peevish Humour grumbles so fretfully in that very Letter, at the Custom some still continued of *Singing Vespers in Latin*; What would he have said, if a *Sacrifice*, a *Sacrament of Ordination*, an *Episcopacy of Divine Right* distinct from *Priesthood*, had been left in either the Liturgy, or Ordinal, or in the other Doctrines of the New Sect? And how unexact is *Le Courayer*? How much must he be in extreme Need of good Proofs of his Assertions, while he brings that for a great One, which says not a Tittle of what he pretends, and, in what it says, is very strong against him?

176. What is still more surprizing in this Author, is, That he would persuade his Reader, That *Cranmer* did not persist in his Errors of Ordination, pag. 152. and had at that Time, (of framing the Ordinal,) changed his Sentiments, pag. 160. What Author has he for this strange Assertion? No one but *Burnet*, who in Point of Historical Credit is become Bankrupt.

Bankrupt. And yet even *Burnet* in the Place cited, do's not speak of *Cranmer's* Sentiments, in Time of *K. Edward*, but in that of *Henry* the 8th. And how do's *Burnet* prove, That *Cranmer* chang'd his Sentiments of Ordination? Because, says he, *Cranmer* subscribed the Book that was soon after set out, which is directly contrary to the Opinions set down in his Papers. But Alas! This do's not prove he chang'd his Sentiments; but, That he subscrib'd against his Conscience, as *Burnet* is forced to own of him. And thus *Mr. Collier* pag. 151. tells you, That after *Cranmer's* Opposition to the *Six Articles* in 1539, he grew pliable again, and subscribed in 1543, the Book of *Necessary Erudition*, in which Transubstantiation and other Doctrines, which he abhorr'd, are fully asserted. *Burnet* assures you, *Cranmer* became a *Lutheran* in *Germany*, and yet he lived in the outward Profession of a *Catholick* for sixteen Years at least, of *Henry* the 8th's Reign. And should such a Hypocrite in Religion, either be the *Heroe* of *Burnet*, or defended by the *Librarian*? And when he appeals to some Writings found among *Cranmer's* Papers after his Death, in which, says he, pag. 153. He acknowledges Ordination for a Sacrament, he should have added, That those Papers are sign'd by *Latimer* too, and others of that Stamp of Men who varied with the Times; and then the Reader would have seen, this is only another Instance of *Cranmer's* Pliableness of Conscience, not of his Orthodoxy. Besides, they are Papers sign'd in *K. Henry's* Time, not in *K. Edward's*. And what were *Cranmer's* Errors in these Points at that Time, and in which he persisted to the last, (excepting his false Retraction, which he presently retracted

again just before his Death,) we have a better Testimony in Mr. Collier, pag. 385. where he says, That *Cranmer*, at his Trial, affirm'd the Power of the Keyes, as well as that of the Sword, was lodged in the Crown; and pag. 367. That *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Hooper* at the Disputation at Oxford, denied the Sacrifice of Mass, and seem'd to allow no Sacrifice, except that of Praise, Thanksgiving, Repentance, and Works of Charity. Why, *le Courayer*, makes no mention of *Cranmer's* Sentiments of a Sacrifice, I leave Him to explain.

177. It is to be hop'd he will also explain why he says in this same Chap. pag. 151, That the Committees, for framing the Liturgy and Ordinal, were guided with a Spirit and Design of moderating Matters in their Reformation of them. Sure, he does not think the Mass and Pontifical, wanted any moderating and Reforming of Errors? Why does he represent *Cranmer* and the Rest, pag. 152. as Men only aiming at retrenching such Things, as they judg'd Novel and Useless? Ought he not to have said one Word in passing, that they judg'd wrong at least? Why does he say (*ibid.*) That by what they preserv'd, they remedied the Dis-union of Catholicks? Sure again, he would not insinuate, That the new Liturgy has enough of the Mass, to satisfy a true Catholick? Or, that we are to blame for the unhappy Dis-union? Why does he add (*ibid.*) They made as little Change as possible, in Things relating to publick Service? I will not think he believes nothing more of the Mass, and Pontifical, and Sacraments, and Prayers, and Practices of the Church

Church could be left, but what is in their new Devises.

§. 3.

Of the Power of National Churches in the Administration of the Sacraments.

178. This is the Subject of his 10th Chapter. It is a Pity, That his Management of it is not as harmless, as the Subject it self is almost entirely superfluous to the Question of the Validity of the *English* Orders. Of six and thirty long Pages, which this Chapter contains, there is not half that Number of Lines to the Purpose of Validity; and scarce half that Number of Lines which is not liable to great Exceptions, and, I fear, to Censures! After all the unnecessary Discourse he runs into, upon the Power of national Churches, in drawing up Rituals and Liturgies, he grants none have any Power to make such Changes, as affect the Substance of Sacraments: And he knows we grant, That other Changes (however illegally made) do not invalidate the Sacraments: Why therefore, should we imitate his superfluous Labour, in a long Examination of Things so very foreign from the Point? But it will not be improper, in the Method wherein I am engaged, to make some few Remarks, rather by Way of hindring unwary Readers from being deceived by his wrong Assertions, and of desiring his Explanations, than of loading him with odious Consequences.

179. In the first Place, for Example, he Tells you, pag. 161. He does not only speak of a simple Change in arbitrary Ceremonies—such as every Body agrees, That particular Churches have a Power to alter, but also in the Administration of Sacraments. This wants a great deal of Explanation. For it naturally imports, That particular Churches (whether they remain Catholick, or turn to Heretical Churches, and when consequently they are no longer Churches) have Power to alter the most solemn Liturgies and Rituals, as well as other small and arbitrary Ceremonies. A strange Liberty! A Liberty which would make all Divine Service and Administration of Sacraments, a very uncertain Thing, and lay them open to as many Errors, as private Churches and Pastors are subject to. And what are they not subject to, when they wander from fix'd Rules, settled Practices, approved and long establish'd in the universal Church? He says, indeed, Changes are not allowable, *where they prejudice the Subordination they owe to each other.* But what does this mean? If they owe a Subordination, even with Regard to such Changes, then they are not at Liberty to make them; but their Power being Subordinate, they are consequently Criminal, if they make such Changes, as the Church, to which they are Subordinate, forbids or disallows. And will he deny the Church of England, was and ought to be Subordinate to that Church, from which it has revolted? She cannot therefore be justify'd in the Changes she has made. He ought also to have observ'd, That Mr. Renaudot,

Renaudot in the Words he cites from him, of the *Syriac* Liturgies, says, the Changes they made, were *ex Episcopali Autoritate*. Nothing of this can be justly said of the Changes in *K. Edward's* Days, which we have seen in the Beginning of the Remarks, and in several other Places, were made then, as well as renewed again in *Q. Elizabeth's* Time, not by Episcopal Authority, but in Opposition to the Body of Bishops, both of *England*, and of the Church in general.

180. Secondly, He squanders his Erudition, in proving That the *Greek* and *Latin* Forms differ in Words. Who ever denied it? But how does this prove what he would infer, pag. 167. That particular Churches, have assumed to themselves an entire Liberty, in making what Changes they please in Rituals? Is there no Difference between assuming a Liberty, and having it allow'd them by Consent of a Church, to which they are Subordinate? Is there none, betwixt some Liberty, and an entire Liberty? Is it either Logical or Canonical, to argue a *Facto ad Jus*: They have done it, therefore, they may lawfully do it? And when from the Varieties, which are found in different Rituals, he infers, pag. 168. It has therefore always been thought, That every Church, much more every national Church (preserving the Substance of Sacraments) is Mistress, so as to alter—as she shall judge convenient; his Inference, is again very strange from Fact to Right, and I know not how to reconcile him with the Council of *Trent*, which condemns those who say, That the approved Ceremonies of the Church in
the

the Administration of Sacraments, may be lawfully omitted or changed by any *Pastor of Churches: Per quemcunque Pastorem Ecclesiarum. sess. 7. Can. 13.* It seems very clear, That the Council speaks of particular Churches, and denies the entire Liberty of such Changes.

181. What does he mean by extending the Power of particular Churches, to abrogating the *Celibacy* of Priests, and Communion in *one Kind*, &c? Will he justify every Thing done by Hereticks, in Opposition to the most received Decrees? Does he think even the *Liberties of the Gallican Church*, leave them an *entire* Freedom of transgressing the Decrees they have already received? What does he mean, *pag. 173.* by limiting the Power of the Church of *Rome* over other Churches, and approving the new Treatise of the Authority of the Pope, Printed at the *Hague* in 1720? And in the next *Page*, Why could he not give to *S. Austin* the Apostle of *England*, the Title of *Saint*? It is well however, That he there destroys all he has been saying. For he there says, That *S. Gregory*, *had then Authority to prescribe* the Rites to be used in *England*. Now if he had Authority to prescribe, it is clear, That when they were prescribed by Authority, they could not be reversed, but with Consent of that same Authority. He relapses indeed again very soon, and *pag. 180.* He will not even allow the Church of *Rome* Authority, to oblige particular Churches to stick to the Decrees they have already received, and adds very surprisingly, *in the Change of Discipline, which*

is done with the Consent of a Church, and a whole Nation, the Cause being very evident, and for Reasons, which she looks upon as grave and necessary, no other Church can oblige her to renounce such an Alteration. Are we then to think he means the *English* Changes of Liturgy and Ordinal, were done with Consent of the Church and Nation? Is she the final Judge upon so important Matters, in her own Case? Has no Church an Authority to oblige her to re-assume the Mass again? Was the Cause of those Changes evident, that is, evidently just? Is it enough, That she looks upon the Reasons to be *Good and Grave*? Is no other Church to be Judge? In fine, are those *le Courayer's* Lines, or did he not forget to tell us, he quotes them from *Burnet* and *Bramhall*?

182. When after these strange Steps he comes, pag. 180. to tell us, That at least *Rome* has not a Right to make Sacraments null, where the Substance of Forms is preserved, he speaks against no Body that we know of: For even He, knows we agree, no Church can annul a valid Form. And when he asks, pag. 181. *Who dares maintain, That the Additions made to the English Ordinal destroy the Sense of the Form?* We readily answer, We dare maintain it: And we are surpriz'd, That any Catholick dares maintain the contrary, while the Church has been so uniform in denying the Validity of such Orders, and while we see the Rituals of all Churches, and all Ages have ever, in their Form, specify'd the Order given, except this only, devised by *K. Edward's* or *Cranmer's* Authority and Principles;
and

and while we find Nothing in the Form that expresses the Order, while we find the Questions, and whole Proceedings in the Ordinal conspire to ruin the true Notion of Episcopacy, and of a Sacrificing Priesthood, and every Thing abolish'd, which has any Foot-steps of Sacrifice, we cannot sufficiently admire to hear him say, That the Ordinal, excellently *preserves the Spirit of the Church in the Ordination of Her Ministers.* pag. 182. The Examples, which he much insists upon of the Rituals of the Greek Schismatics, (even supposing the Forms of them drawn up since their Schism, which he can never prove,) are rather against him: For since the Church allows their Ordination, and not That of the *English*, it is a plain Proof, that in this she do's not find either the Spirit or the Substance of her Ordination; and the Comparison confirms our Persuasion, That the Difference is in the Substance of the Forms, since the universal Practice of the Church agrees in re-ordaining the *English*, and not the *Greeks*. And we shall hereafter shew more fully, how inconsiderately he charges the Church, with re-ordaining the *English*, upon *Pretexts* the most frivolous, the most unreasonable in the World. pag. 193. One could never expect such a disrespectful Expression from a Catholick, and there is scarce a harsher upon that Practice, even in Mr. *Williams*.

183. It is true, pag. 194. where we object That those Churches having chang'd their Rites, do's not prove they had a Right to do it, he calls this, a poor *Equivocation*, and That by *Right* to do it, he do's not mean they could lawfully make such Changes; but only, That they

they might do it, without invalidating the Sacraments. By what Name to call this Evasion, I scarce know. But I have read of a sorry Painter, who having drawn a *Dog* for a Sign of a Tavern, which should have been a *Lion*, instead of changing the Draught, writ under it, *this is the Sign of the Lion*. Thus, after the *Librarian* has long been arguing for a *Right*, even so great a *Right*, That *Rome*, and General Councils cannot justly oppose it, he at Length writes under it, This *Right* is not *Right*, but *Wrong*. And then, to what Purpose is all this long Chapter to prove, That if the Changes do not affect the Substance, they do not invalidate the Sacraments? This is disputing with Men in the Air: For no Catholics question it. What makes this Chapter, as it is certainly superfluous at least in this Respect, look also extremely suspicious, is, That this very Point, and almost in the very same Words of *the Power of National Churches in changing Liturgies and Rites*, was one of the Points proposed to be disputed in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, as a Ground of her intended Change of Religion. And without doing any Injustice to the *Librarian*, who seems to have copied a Part of the Arguments then proposed by the Hereticks for the Affirmative Side of the Question, they argued much stronger, (tho' in the main very falsely,) than he has done; as may be seen in *Collier's History*, where he gives a large Account of their Arguments. I will only add, That where he says, pag. 196, That it is evident we don't think a Change of *Rites* alone invalidates the Sacraments, since
we

we allow the *English* Baptism, he says very true. But see how unaccurately he speaks? For he adds, That in the *English* Administration of Baptism, *all the Form is alter'd, except the Invocation of the Holy Trinity; the Prayers, the Unction, the Exorcisms are all chang'd or suppress'd.* But who pretends these are any Part of the Form? When therefore he asks, *Why these contrary Steps, these contrary Measures as to their Ordinations?* The Answer is ready: Because in these, the Church finds Her Form is wanting, in Baptism, only her *Ceremonies.*

§. 4.

Whether the New Ordinal was made by the Ecclesiastical, or by the Secular Authority.

184. As it is hard to discover what other End there could be in the greatest Part of the *Librarian's* tenth Chapter, but to justify their Liturgy, and all their Religious Service; and in a Word, almost all they have done in the Changes of Religion in *England*, rather than the Validity of their Orders; so I cannot see, but the *Eleventh* Chapter is rather a Defence of the Oath of Supremacy, than of their Orders. This Chapter therefore of his, will demand his Explications; but as to the main Question of the *English* Orders, will require but very few Remarks from us: For, it is not from the Authority by which Ordinals are made, That the Validity must be judged of, but by the Substance of them. However, as the Heretical Opinions of those, who were the *Devisers*; so likewise, an unwarrantable Authority

thority assumed either by a National Church, or by any Civil Power in altering Rites, justly makes such Alterations very suspicious; since it may very well be apprehended, That Something essential is wanting in so great a Concurrence of Irregularities. To hear the *Librarian* talk of these Matters, there were scarce any Irregularities. The pretended Reformers did not exceed their Powers, the Princes kept within the Bounds of their Authority, all was right enough, only the Title of *Supreme Head* of the Church of *England*, he allows, has *somewhat* odious in it, and scandalous. That *somewhat*, is a very soft Word. And when he adds, pag. 202. That a Man cannot without *Prevarication* and Schism, attribute to the King all the Rights, Privileges, and Jurisdictions, that ever appertain'd to any Spiritual Power, he thinks he has said enough to give no Suspicion, That he approves in any Degree, a Change made in this Respect in the Church of *England*. But alas! This is the Story again of the Picture of the Dog and the Lion: For, when he comes to explain what Authority the Kings of *England* assume, he would persuade his Reader they extend it no farther, than to a Power of supporting the Church by the Temporal Sword and Authority.

185. If it were not for swelling these Remarks with Things in a great Measure foreign to the Question of Validity, I could with a great deal of Pleasure, trace the Regal Supremacy in *England*, from it's first Steps to all it's Advances, as they are very finely and solidly deduced, by the Excellent Author of *Church Government*. part 5th. But then I

would premise with him, as I now do, That I meddle not at all with the Supreme Power in all Civil Matters, but only in Things purely Spiritual and Ecclesiastical. At present I will only observe, That after all the *Librarian* has said to mollify the Supremacy, and Oath of it, establish'd in *England*, he do's by no Means abate any Thing of the Error it contains, in *excluding* the *Pope's* Spiritual Supremacy. The pretended Explications given, either by Convocations, or by Q. *Elizabeth*, and K. *James* the First, or by some Protestant Writers, are not Explications, but perfect Inconsistencies with the Oath. Neither Q. *Elizabeth's*, nor K. *James's* Explications have repeal'd the Acts, by which the Supremacy, and the Oath are establish'd. Queen *Elizabeth* expressly declares, she challenges that Supremacy, which even K. *Edward* the Sixth challenged; and That Supremacy is such, that he declared himself, *the only Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England*; and that he has, All *Authorities and Jurisdictions* belonging to the Supreme Head. If then, Q. *Elizabeth* or other Protestants pretend to explain it so, as not to assume any *Spiritual Authority*, they do not explain it, but contradict it, and themselves: For certainly, *All* and *None*, are sufficient Contradictions. And, as far as the Pope is excluded from any *Spiritual Authority* in *England*, they neither have given any Explication, nor can that Exclusion be maintain'd. To exclude it, is not only *Prevarication* and *Schism*, as the *Librarian* tenderly expresses it, but *Heresy*.

186. Moreover, with Regard to the Ordinal, it is very fallacious in the *Librarian* to draw us off to pretended Explications given to the Supremacy afterwards, when now the *English* themselves began to be in Part ashamed of it. As far as it influences the Ordinal, it is to be consider'd, what was assumed by K. *Edward* at the Time when the Ordinal was made : And at that Time, we have seen Mr. *Collier* p. 167. forced to own, That such a Supremacy was assumed, as seems utterly inconsistent with the *Divine Commission* of Bishops. And every Body knows, That *Heylin* complains it was the *Intent* of the Ruling Party then, by *Degrees* to weaken the *Episcopal Order*, by forcing them from their Strong Hold of Divine Institution, and making them no other than the King's Ministers, only his Ecclesiastical Sheriffs, to execute his Will, and disperse his Mandates — The Bishops of those Times were not in a Capacity of conferring Orders, but as they were thereunto impower'd by a Special Licence, &c. *Hist. Ref. pag. 51.* And how far he carried his Power in Spirituals, and what were his, and the then prevailing Principles concerning Episcopacy, we have a glaring Instance in his Patents to *Alasco*. They run thus, as cited in *Protest. Demons.* pag. 18. “ *Edward the Sixth, King of England, on*
“ *Earth under Christ, of the Church of Eng-*
“ *land and Ireland Supreme Head ; We will*
“ *That John of Alasco, a Polonian born, be*
“ *the first and present Bishop, or Superinten-*
“ *dent of the said Church, (of Strangers at*
“ *London,) &c.*” By which it plainly appears, That a Bishop, and Superintendant, was with

them the same Thing, and that they derived their Authority from the King.

187. Another Fallacy of the *Librarian* in this Point is, That however in fine, you explain the King's Spiritual Supremacy, it is certain and evident, That the Ordinal has all it's Force and Authority not from the Ecclesiastical, but from the Civil Power: For, it was the Parliament, (which is a Temporal Power,) that order'd it to be made; nor can it properly be thought a Spiritual Power, both because it decides by Plurality of Secular Voices, and may not only, but actually do's-often decide, either without the Plurality of Bishops, or against it. The Body of the Clergy had no Share in the Ordinance, much less the whole Authority to order it. It was no Synod, no Council, no Convocation, that either appointed a New One to be made, or the Persons to make it. Those who were named to do it, were named by the King. They acted, not as the Clergy's, but as the King's Commissioners. When drawn up, it neither had the Review, nor the Consent of the Clergy: On the contrary, such as oppos'd it were imprison'd, or at least not minded. Oh! but (says the *Librarian*,) the King and Parliament did not compose it; it was made by Bishops and Divines. But alas! by what Bishops, what Divines? Such as were either rank *Presbyterians*, or over-sway'd by such as were so. And then, what a wretched Argument is this: The King did not compose it, therefore it is not his Act, nor by his Authority. Are no Proclamations, nor Speeches the King's, unless he composes them himself?

188. And here I would leave this very superfluous and very strange Chapter, only that I think, I ought not to omit observing, That the *Librarian* is so bent to a wrong Method of defending the Protestant Cause, That he is pleased to approve of *Bramhall's* Saying, That the *Supremacy-Statute* ought not to be attributed to the *Church of England*, since that *Henry the 8th* was not then a *Protestant*. pag. 211. But whatever *Henry the 8th* then was, it is certain the *Supremacy* was carry'd much farther in *K. Edward's* Days; and, as it then stood, it must be attributed to Protestants. Besides, it was entirely repeal'd by *Q. Mary*, and re-establish'd by *Q. Elizabeth*, and so rejected by the whole *Episcopal Body*; That all of them, but one weak Man, lost their *Bishopricks* for rejecting it. The Author of *Church-Government*. part 5. cap. 2. §. 20. would have informed the *Librarian*, how the *Catholick Bishops* were trick'd into it at first; That the *Antiq. Brit.* owns, That *Cranmer*, and *Cromwell* were thought to be the Authors of the Advice; That the *Clergy*, even then sensible of the Danger of the *Church* being ruin'd by *Princes* under this Title, ordering *Spiritual Matters* without, or against the *Clergy*, obtain'd of the *King* a Promise, That he would never, by Vertue of that Grant, do any Thing without them, in altering, ordering, or judging of *Spiritual Matters*. And altho' this Promise, and their Fears, (which as *Dr. Hammond* acknowledges, was the Motive,) cannot excuse them, yet it moderates their Guilt; and their generous, as well as unanimous rejecting it, after Experience had taught the fatal Consequences, is a great Atonement.

189. Upon this Occasion I cannot omit That memorable and edifying Passage of Bp. Gardiner, related in the *Wardword*, printed in 1559, pag. 47. where speaking of the famous Sermon which that Bishop made at St. Paul's Cross, before the greatest Auditory that perhaps *England* ever saw, He says; "He there
 " made a hearty and humble Accusation of
 " himself for his Fall, and consenting to K.
 " Henry's Will, in that Book *de verâ Obedien-*
 " *tiâ*, which he did utter with so great Ve-
 " hemency of Spirit, and Abundance of Tears,
 " as he could not go forward, and was forc'd
 " divers Times to make some Pauses —
 " That there was no Fiction or Dissimula-
 " tion in this Act of his; the End declared.
 " For, when he fell sick, and drew near unto
 " his Death, he desired the Passion of our
 " Saviour might be read to him; and when
 " they came to the Denial of St. Peter, and
 " how after Christ had looked back upon
 " him, he went out and wept bitterly; the
 " Bishop cried, and bid them stay there, and
 " see whether his sweet Saviour would vouch-
 " safe also to look back upon him, and give
 " him some Part of St. Peter's Tears; for,
 " saith he, *Negavi cum Petro, exivi cum Petro,*
 " *sed nondum flevi amarè cum Petro.* I have
 " denied Christ with Peter, (meaning that
 " Subscription of the Supremacy of K. Henry,)
 " I have gone out with Peter, (meaning the
 " Participation of that Schism,) but yet I have
 " not wept bitterly with Peter, so bitterly as I
 " should do; and by often Repetition of these
 " Words, and asking God Forgiveness, with
 " Cries and Sighs, he entertain'd himself until
 " great

“ great Floods of Tears came down upon
 “ him, and so gave up the Ghost.”

C H A P. IX.

*Remarks upon the Librarian's Twelfth
 Chapter.*

190. **W**HATEVER Opinion *Le Courayer's* Book, upon this Subject, may give the World of him in other Respects, it will never make him pass for an accurate Divine. There is a remarkable *Untheologicalness* in most Places, where he speaks of any Divinity Question. It is not from a censorious Humour, that I make this Remark, but that Catholics may be the less startled at, and Protestants the less fond of his Authority, which must here needs be very little, while (however learned he may be in other Respects) he shews so little Exactness in Divinity. Let the very Title of this Chapter be an Instance. It stands thus: *The Doubts of the Divines, who look upon the English Ordinations as null, are not sufficient to make them dubious, nor consequently invalid.* Now it is very clear, That nothing of a Divine can pretend, that Doubts, however probable, can make a Sacrament null, or invalid. All that is pretended from the Doubts of the *English* Ordinations, is, that even supposing them valid at the Bottom, yet the Doubts are such, That their

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Validity

Validity is not certain, but at most only probable, and that consequently, they ought to be re-iterated according to a more certain Manner. Neither *Champney*, and much less *Innocent the Eleventh*, as the *Librarian* very untheologically pretends *pag. 228*, go upon this Ground, That a dubious Form makes Sacraments invalid. They go upon This, That the Reverence due to Sacraments, and the fatal Consequence to the Receiver, make it unlawful to depend upon a probable Matter and Form, where a securer may be had. And this leads me to consider more particularly, some of the unaccountable Assertions of this Chapter.

§. 1.

The Librarian's strange Assertions, That the Doubts of the English Orders are frivolous, and the new Ordinal as probable, at least, as the Pontifical.

191. While the present universal Practice of the Church continues, no Catholick, I believe, ever imagin'd to find a Catholick Writer affirm, That it is grounded upon *frivolous*, and *unreasonable* Doubts. As to the Ordinal, the *Librarian* pretends to have demonstrated from *Morinus*, That Imposition of Hands is the *sole* Matter: But let him be cited never so often, it will still be intolerably presuming, to deny a Probability to the Opinion of those, who maintain, That the Ordination is dubious; where *that alone* is used. As long as the *Florentine Decree*, and the Practice of the Church,

Church, which we have instanced in the Case of the Bishop of *Avelino*, shall stand as they do, this can never be denied. But what is above all Measure surprizing here, is to find *Le Courayer* daring to say, pag. 219. *It is not true, That the New Ordinal used from Edward the Sixth's Time, is no more than probable, and it is yet less true, that it may be less probably valid than the other.* Sure he here forgets, That he had cited *Morinus* with Approbation, saying, pag. 108. *I suppose no Body will deny, That it is certainly a Point of Faith to believe, That a Sacrament administred according to the Rite of the Roman Pontifical or Ritual is duly administred, and validly; tho' it is not necessarily a Point of Faith, That the Form or Matter consists in such or such Things, unless the Church shall so declare it.* And can any Thing of a Divine say, That two Ordinals are equally probable, while the Validity of one is certainly of Faith, and the other much controverted, or rather universally denied by all Catholicks? And why do's he affect to say here, That the Pontifical is *modern* in those Things, wherein it differs from *Cranmer's* Presbyterian Ordinal? Why do's he say, pag. 220. That this expresses the principal Function, Power, and Intention of the Order, *with the same Exactness as the Roman Pontifical.* We have, and still farther shall see the contrary. And his attributing to the Ordinal the *same* Exactness, is now less surprizing, after what we heard him say. To which I will add here what I forgot above, That pag. 155. he is pleased to say, *they corrected the Ritual.* I hope that Expression of
correcting,

correcting, is only one of his many unaccurate Slips of the Pen. But I am less able to account for his saying, *pag. 154. That Ordination imprints, if you please, a Character. May you hold it imprints a Character if so you please, or if you please hold the contrary, tho' the Council of Trent, Sess. 7. Can. 9. has defined, That it imprints an indelible Character in the Soul?*

192. When now the *Librarian* comes to account for the general Practice of Re-ordaining the *English*, there is such a Shocking Air in what he says, That it requires some Temper to refute him civilly. It was *the little Learning*, says he, *pag. 223. of the Divines of those Days,* "The greatest Part of whom had but
 " confused and indigested Ideas of what we
 " call the Matter and Form of Sacraments;
 " the Indignation of *Q. Mary* — the Zeal
 " of the Catholicks, who, to render the Per-
 " sons and Conduct of the Reform'd Bishops
 " more odious, were transported to be able to
 " frame to themselves somewhat of Invali-
 " dity in their Ordinations." — Good God! Is it a Catholick, that thus makes the Zeal of Religion no better than a blind Passion, by which they were *transported* to make their Adversaries odious? And whither were they transported? Into Sacrilegious Re-ordinations, and upon frivolous Reasons. Yes; Rather than not make the *Reform'd*, (*pretended* must not be added,) odious. I hope too, I may with Civility ask, Who licensed the *Librarian* to condemn Cardinal *Poole*, *Gardiner*, *Tunstal*, *Bonner*, *Heath*, *Christopherson*, and such others; besides the two famous *Soto's*, *Carranza*, and others

others from *Spain*, and a great Number in *England*, in *Q. Mary's Days*; *Stapleton*, *Harding*, *Allen*, *Bristow*, &c. In the Beginning of *Q. Elizabeth*: *Campion*, *Parsons*, *Kel-lison*, *Champney*, &c. In the latter Part of her Reign, and Beginning of *K. James the First*; and all since, who have continu'd to look upon the *English* Ordinations invalid, for Men of little Learning, and of confused, indigested Ideas in so great a Point? They knew not in *England*, they knew not in *France*, in *Spain*, in *Germany*, in *Rome*, no Catholicks knew; only *Jewel*, *Horn*, *Mason*, *Bramhall* and *Burnet* knew, what belong'd to the Essentials of Ordination. This is his System, This his Opinion of the Church for above a Hundred and Fifty Years. We were at Length to have one Man, (*Le Courayer* the Man,) who was to dispel our Ignorance, and all the Horrors of Sacrilege in which we had involved the World upon frivolous Reasons, and Transports of Passion. But alas! We don't yet find, as I have already observ'd, That the Church hearkens to his Voice. We hope he will always hearken to her Voice, and not condemn her constant Practice, till he brings Her new Reasons. Hitherto, he has only rummaged up the old ones, with many Additional Mistakes.

193. And here in this Chapter he only repeats again Part of what he had said against the *Nag's-Head*, and for *Barlow*. I see Nothing added, unless, perhaps, he thinks it something new, what he says, pag. 226. That *Barlow*, when forced to seek Refuge among Protestants—

testants — he might take off the Mask and own,
That he was no more than a Nominal Bishop.
 After *Barlow* had vilely dissembled his Sentiments and obtain'd his Liberty by a false Recantation, he left the Kingdom. This, the *Librarian* calls, being forced to seek Refuge. For one, who had his Conscience so much under his Command, the Hopes of recovering his Dignity were sufficient Reasons not to unmask. But what follows, pag. 227. is more singular. "The Fable of the *Nag's-Head*,
 " says he, was the Argument and Demonstration to which our Divines submitted, for
 " Want of Opportunity to satisfy themselves of
 " the Falshood and Ridiculousness of that
 " Chimera." Not to insist upon the Boldness of charging our Divines with submitting to ridiculous Falshoods, in so nice a Matter as Re-ordinations, he here again plainly contradicts himself. Whatever Appearance that Tavern-Business might otherwise have, the Notions of those New Prelates make it not at all strange they should think such an Ordination sufficient: Or the more strange you pretend this is, the less possible could it be, That our Divines should credit so strange a Thing upon slight Grounds, and credit it so far, as to take it for a Demonstration, and proceed to Re-ordinations upon it. And if that Story was so demonstratively false, if *Parker's* Consecration had been publickly perform'd at *Lambeth*, if Thousands, as *Bramhall* says, were present, if publick Records and Numbers of living Witnesses attested it, it is a perfect Contradiction to say our Divines wanted an Opportunity, to inform themselves of so notorious a Fact. The *Librarian*

brarian talks much of demonstrating; but there is nothing in him so like it, as where thus, he demonstrates against himself.

194. As to his adding, (*Ibid*). *All the World have at present given it up, and we are even ashamed for our Forefathers being so far credulous*; I must beg Leave to say, That we are ashamed for Him, to hear him affirm we have given it up. His pretended Demonstrations against it, have so enforced it, That at present there is less Appearance than ever of our giving it up. But when *pag. 228.* he says of the whole Doubt of the *English* Ordinations, That, *It subsists only, because there is a View and Interest in Doubling*, he deserves a more severe Reproof than I care to express, while it is in Reality making Catholics guilty of Sacrilege in re-ordaining upon no better View than Interest. St. *Austin* speaking to *Julian the Pelagian* Heretick, *lib. 1.* says: *Quos et quales viros, et quantos fidei defensores, tam execrabili Criminatione appetere audeas, si evigilas, intueri.* What the Saint adds, is so strong, That I am unwilling to make a farther Mention and Application of his Words.

§. 2.

The Librarian's strange Assertions concerning the Sacerdotal Power, and Sacrifice of the Church.

195. After the *Librarian* had thus unaccountably lash'd out against all Catholics, the Authors of the *Journal of Trevoux*, may very well be unconcern'd at the personal Flings he has

has at them: And tho' I have not seen their Memoirs of late Years, yet I doubt not but they have fully answer'd him. A very easy Matter it certainly is, as to what he begins to say from pag. 230. His Flirts at those learned Men as being *Probabilists*, are entirely foreign to the Purpose, and as such I leave them. Only I must beg Leave to say, That certainly one, who can pretend, pag. 219. the new Ordinal is *as probable at least* as the Pontifical; and that *Cranmer*, and his chosen Associates were persuaded they did follow *the most sure and most probable Opinion*, pag. 228. and can approve of their Persuasion, as he do's pag. 229. in thinking it *the most sure and most probable* to abandon the Pontifical for a new Devise of their own; He, I say, That can have these Notions, cannot possibly be thought to have a right Theological Notion of probable Opinion, as it is stated by those Divines, at whom he seems to have a Grudge. Especially since he seems pag. 231. to imagine That the *Probabilists* think the meer arbitrary Opinions of Divines, may be Authority enough to determine the Essentials of Ordination: This is all a Mistake. They only pretend, That since Divines, upon consulting Tradition, as far as it appear'd in several ancient Remains, as well before, as after the Works of *Morinus*, are still divided in their Sentiments, Probability cannot without Insolence be denied to the Opinion of those Divines, whose Learning is such, That most certainly so unaccurate a Divine as the *Librarian*, is not licens'd to condemn them. Especially since we see *Rome* has such a Regard to their

their Reasons, as still to command a Re-ordination, where such Things were omitted, as they probably judged were essential, while Cranmer, and the Librarian, it seems, are pleased to think otherwise.

196. His Want of Accuracy in what follows is still much worse. The Journalists of *Trevoux* had proposed the Argument against the *English Ordinal*, from its not giving Power to *Sacrifice*. The Librarian is pleased to say: *I know not whether they pretend to propose to us here something new.* I suppose this is not very serious. For since he must needs know, it is an Argument our Authors have insisted upon from the Beginning of this Dispute, there is no *Probability*, that it could be thought by Men of so much Literature, to be a New Argument. It were needless either to repeat here, what I mention'd from *Harding's* urging against *Jewel*, the Argument of their having no true external Sacrifice, or to load this Section with a great Number of obvious Quotations from our Controvertists using the same Argument. Yet it may not be improper to quote these Lines from Mr. *Collier*, pag. 380. "A Book call'd, *A profitable and necessary Doctrine*, &c. "was publish'd by *Banner*, in which the *Ordinal made in the late Reign*, is deeply censured, and the Conveyance of any Character seems denied. The Reason assigned is, "because in the Reform'd Ordinal, at the "Ordination of Priests there is no Authority "given them to offer the Body and Blood of "our Saviour in the Mass." As these Lines shew, That the Argument is as ancient as the first

first Opposers of the Ordinal, so they plainly shew, That it was notoriously the Sense of the Devisers and of the Ordinal, That it gave no Sacrificing Power.

197. *The Truth is*, says *Le Courayer*, That *Champney* formerly insisted upon it, and that *Mason* answer'd him in an entire Book. He adds : The Objection of the *Journalists* is exactly the same, and has nothing in it that deserves a new Answer. Is the *Librarian* then satisfy'd with *Mason's* Answer ? For what, in fine, do's *Mason* say, but such outrageous Things of the Sacrifice of *Mass*, as should for ever make any Catholick abhor the Thoughts of quoting him with Approbation. We have seen his Preface speak of Sacrificing, as a *Human Invention* : That was not enough for his violent Pen ; he there, presently after, calls it a *Sacrificing Abomination*. In the Fifth Book of his first *English* Edition, pag. 241. he says, the Sacrifice meant by the Holy Fathers, is not properly propitiatory, nor properly a Sacrifice, but only a Commemoration and Representation of the sovereign Sacrifice. Can *Le Courayer* think this is all that Catholicks believe of a Sacrifice ? Is it not a Contradiction in Terms to the Council of *Trent* ? But *Mason*, not content with opposing our Doctrine, must revile it too, as violently as he can ; and pag. 260. says, *Your sacrificing Priesthood is sacrilegious and abominable in the Sight of God* — And an *Antichristian Practice*. And pag. 261. *Your Massing and Sacrificing is simply abominable*. Is this one of the *Librarian's* favourite Authors, who maintain a Sacrifice in the Orthodox Sense ? After I had seen these and the like
Places

Places in his first Edition, I never had the Curiosity to procure his Latin Edition. But I find by others, That in them he is still worse. Let one Instance suffice, cited in *Ch. Govern.* Part 5. §. 145. where speaking of a *true Propitiatory Sacrifice*, as held in the Catholick Church, he says it is a Thing which surpasses all Impiety. *Quod omnem superat Impietatem.*

198. The next Words of *Le Courayer* are still more surprizing, than his appealing to *Mason's* answering the Argument drawn from a Power of Sacrificing. "This (Argument)" says he, *pag.* 237. is a subsidiary Way of Reasoning, that appears Abroad, not so much to fortify the Cause, as with a Design to embarrass an Adversary, by the Delicateness of the Matter, upon which he must be oblig'd to explain himself : And it is difficult to treat a Subject to the Taste of some certain Divines." What he calls a Subsidiary Reason, is a Fundamental One, constantly used by our Authors since the earliest Times of this Question : And I must have Leave to say, That this is the first Catholick Divine, whom I ever found embarrass'd to explain himself concerning the Substance of our Belief of a true external Sacrifice and Priesthood, or thought himself hardly dealt with, to be obliged to own Something more of them, than is allowed by *Mason* : And indeed, not only *some certain Divines*, but all true Catholics, will certainly be dissatisfy'd with what he says upon this Occasion. For Example : He says, *pag.* 237. That *all the Propositions in the Argument are false, or very uncertain.* One

of the Propositions is this: *The Priesthood of the New Covenant, principally and essentially includes the Power to consecrate and sacrifice the adorable Body and Blood of JESUS CHRIST.* Is this to him a false or very uncertain Proposition? As to his insulting the *Journalists*, for saying it is the Catholick Opinion, That Episcopacy supposes Sacerdotal Ordination as an Essential Disposition, he seems very much mistaken in the Meaning of their Argument. It do's by no Means import, That a Man may not be made Bishop by the same Ordination by which he is made Priest, if you mean the same entire Ceremony of Ordination. And whereas he cites *Bellarmino*, saying both may be conferr'd by the same Consecration, it is strange he did not observe, That *Bellarmino* says a few Lines before, in the very same Chapter, *Episcopalis ordinatio integra consurgit ex duplici Ordinatione—— Episcopum non habere ut possit consecrare Eucharistiam ex sua ultimâ Ordinatione, tamen id habere ex aliâ Ordinatione precedente quæ est de essentia Episcopatus.*

199. But where is it understood, says *Le Courayer*, pag. 239. That Priesthood is conferr'd by the Form that gives a Power to Sacrifice? There is not a Word of it in the ancient Ordinals. Here again he entirely mistakes, or would lead his Reader off to a wrong Point. The Argument drawn from the Ordinal, not giving a Power to Sacrifice, is not grounded in omitting those precise Words, *Accipe Protestatem offerre, &c.* We don't pretend those very Grammatical Words are essential, but that some such Words are essential (*Forma TALIS est*, says the *Florentine Decree*) That is, Words, which

which in their known, obvious, publick, establish'd and constant Use of the Church, ever imported a Power of offering a true external Sacrifice. If that precise Form of Words began to be used about the *Eleventh* Age, yet we have seen, That some Words importing a Power of Sacrificing were used in all Ages, and all Ordinals, excepting *Cranmer's*. By the Bye, it is observable, That there is a particular Oddness in any Defender of the pretended Church of *England's* Innovations, to talk, as the *Librarian* here, and often do's, of Forms being *so modern*, while they are at least five or six hundred Years ancients, than that pretended Church. How absurd is it for them to quarrel with Things as *so modern*, while their Innovations are so much younger?

200. What follows in the *Librarian*, is still more and more surprizing. *The English*, says he, *make no Difficulty to own the Sacrifice in the SAME SENSE with most of the ancient Fathers, and of our most judicious controversial Writers.* pag. 239. It is not conceivable how a Divine, of any tolerable Accuracy, could advance such a Proposition. This Syllogism will sufficiently confute it. It is certain, That most of the Ancient Fathers, and of our most judicious Controversial Writers, hold a Sacrifice in the *same Sense*, as it is defined by the Council of *Trent*: But it is certain, the *English* make a Difficulty to own a Sacrifice in the *same Sense*, as it is defined by the Council of *Trent*: Therefore, &c. We own the Catholick Sacrifice is, in several Respects, *Commemorative* and *Representative*; but, at the same Time, it is truly, really, and substantially, and not

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only

only representatively, the very same Victim, which was offer'd on the Cross. Nothing can be more evident, than that the *English* do not own the Sacrifice in this Sense. It is in vain that he quotes *Forbes, Thorndike, Mead, Grabe* and others, as acknowledging a *Representative Sacrifice*. First, Because even supposing these Authors, ashamed of their Fore-fathers Excesses, had some more favourable Notions of an external Christian Sacrifice, yet this could be of no Use to justify the Ordinal, since as far as they seem to have any such Notions, they plainly abandon the Principles of those, by whom the Ordinal was framed. We have seen *Cranmer's* Notions, and in *Mr. Collier*, pag. 370. there is a Declaration of their Belief sign'd by *Farrar, Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, Hooper* and others, where you find the same Notions of Sacrifice, as in *Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley*. Secondly, because it is evident, That *Grabe* and those others, do not own this *Representative Sacrifice* is substantially the same Victim with that on the Cross. Thirdly, The Sense, in which even these more moderate Protestants allow a Sacrifice, is generally dis-avowed by the *English*. I need only appeal for this to *Mr. Johnson's Book of the Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar, &c.* He owns in his very Preface, That his Doctrine of a Sacrifice, for which he also cites *Mead* and *Grabe*, is generally call'd by the *English*, down-right Popery : That the Bishop of *Oxford* calls it, *new and unaccountable* in a Church of *England* Man ; He complains, That the *Establish'd Church*, (of *England*,) has not made sufficient Provision for this necessary Truth of a Sacrifice,

Sacrifice, and that the *Generality* of the Clergy and Laity, *have agreed to maim and deface it* ; That he has not heard of above *One* Bishop, that has declared in Favour of it. How so learned a Man as *Mr. Johnson*, can remain in a Church, which he owns is so far from the *necessary and fundamental* Truth, (for so he several Times calls it,) of a Sacrifice, we must leave to his serious Thoughts. But this is certain in the mean while, from what he says here, and in several Places of his Book, the Doctrine of a Sacrifice, even in in the Sense of those few who are cited for it, is not the Doctrine of the *English*.

201. As to the Places of some Holy Fathers, cited here by the *Librarian*, wherein they call the Eucharist a *Commemorative Sacrifice*, they are the very Places which Protestants generally urge, (tho' very unjustly,) against the Catholick Doctrine of the Real Presence: They are the very Places which Protestants commonly object also, against the Catholick Doctrine of a true External Sacrifice; and, as such, are answered by *Bellarmino, Lib. de Missâ. cap. 15.* and others. As such, the *Librarian* ought to have forewarn'd his Reader not to mistake their Meaning. Certain it is, with Regard to the present Point, That neither do the Holy Fathers, nor can any Catholick pretend, the Eucharist is *only* a *Commemorative* Sacrifice. This is expressly condemn'd in the Council of *Trent* ; and the Catholick Divines cited by the *Librarian*, at the same Time, and in the same Places he cites, (tho' he has been pleased to take no Notice of it,) expressly teach the Eucharist is

indeed a Commemorative, but yet a *Real Sacrifice*, in which the true Body of Christ is truly present, and truly offer'd. Can this Author say, That it is a *Question concerning Words*, whether the Eucharist is a *Real Sacrifice*? Are not the very Terms of *Proper*, and *Real*, expressly defined by the Council of *Trent*? And it is no more a Question of Words, than *Transubstantiation*, or the *Consubstantiality* of the Son. Other Remarks upon the *Librarian's* Authors, and his Manner of citing them upon this Subject, might be made; but as they are not necessary, any farther than they have been already touch'd upon, let us see if *Le Courayer* mends the Matter in what follows.

202. *Since the English*, says he, pag. 244, *acknowledge the Sacrifice in a Sense, which our best Divines judge sufficient, it is therefore very false, That they do not own a Power in their Priests to offer such a Sacrifice, and that their Ordination do's not confer it.* In these Words, tho' we have seen how false it is, That the *English* admit a Sacrifice in such a Sense, yet he seems to grant, That if they did not admit of such a Sacrifice, their Ordination would be invalid. As certain therefore as it is, (and it is at least morally certain,) That they neither now do, and That the Devisers of the Ordinal did still less own such a Sacrifice, or design to leave in the Ordinal any Thing that could be thought to import it, so, certain it is, their Ordinations are invalid. But, *this Power* (of Sacrifice) *is included*, says he, *in That which is given them to administer the Sacraments, and to perform all the Functions annexed*

annexed to the Priesthood of JESUS CHRIST. These Words are extremely fallacious. *First*, Because there is a vast Difference between the Eucharist as a *Sacrament*, and as a *Sacrifice*. It do's not therefore follow, that Words, importing a Power to administer or dispense the Eucharist, do import a Power to Sacrifice. The Council of *Trent* was well aware of this Difference, and of the Heresies of the Times in this Regard. It accordingly has expressly condemn'd those who say, That the offering, or sacrificing the Body of Christ, is Nothing but giving, (or dispensing or administering of it,) *to be eaten*. As certain therefore again, as it is, That by administering or dispensing the Eucharist, the *English* mean no more than giving it to be eaten; so certain it is, That by *Administring*, they do not mean *Sacrificing*. *Secondly*, In that critical Part of the Ordinal, which is properly the Form, and which his Correspondent the Protestant Bishop, in his Records, pag. 379. calls, *the very Act of Consecration*, (*Ipsum actum Consecrationis*;) there are no Words which express a Power to perform the Functions annexed to the Priesthood of *Jesus Christ*. There was great Care taken, That no such Words should appear. They believed, That all proper Functions of a Sacrificing Priesthood were at an End: Even the very Word *Priest* was left out of the Form. And yet, if it had been left in the Form, they had already taken abundant Precautions, to alienate that Word from its Catholick and proper Meaning of a *Sacrificing Priest*. For, in the Questions proposed to the Candidate before he is ordain'd, he is made

to understand what Sort of a *Presbyter* he is to be. He is asked whether he be fully persuaded, That he is called *ad Presbyterij Ministerium juxta voluntatem Dei et D. N. J. Christi, et legitimam hujus Regni Constitutionem*. These Words, indeed, directly regard his *Call* : Yet it seems clear, That the Sense of the Question imports as much as if they had said : We retain the Word *Presbyter* ; but, as that Word may import different Senses and Functions, and did lately import in this Kingdom a Sacrificing Priest, yet the present Constitution of the Realm, having abrogated all external Sacrifice as injurious to the only Sacrifice of the Cross, you are to understand, That neither We design to confer, nor are you to imagine you are to receive the Ministry in any other Sense than That, which is according to the new establish'd Constitution of the Realm. In fine, as Episcopal Power is not express'd, or given by those Words of *administring, or dispensing the Sacraments*, (otherwise, who ever is made a Minister of Sacraments, would be, by the same Words, made a Bishop,) so the Power of Sacrificing cannot be supposed to be given by Words, importing only *administring Sacraments*. For, the Power of Sacrificing, is as different from other Powers relating to Sacraments, as the Power of Episcopacy is different from the Power of Priesthood ; and, in a Word, as the *English* do at most, only admit of an *improper* and *Metaphorical* Sacrifice, so they can only be improper and Metaphorical Priests ; and as their *Liturgy* has no Appearance of a Sacrifice, (and for this very Reason, Mr. *Grabe* and others refused to be

present

present at it,) so there is nothing in the *English* Clergy that has any Appearance of a Sacrificing Priesthood. Consequently they have no true Priesthood at all.

203. After the sad Plunges, we have seen *Le Courayer* make in this Chapter, into several unaccountable Propositions, it is no Wonder to find him act at the End of it, like Shipwreck'd People, who grasp at every floating Reed, in Hopes of a little Support. What but this, could make him say, pag. 245. Parker was ordain'd Priest according to the Roman Pontifical, before his Episcopal Ordination. He therefore received a Power to offer Sacrifice. Now, what is this to the Purpose? For granting he did not want the Priestly Character, yet his Episcopal Ordination is disproved upon other Accounts. And moreover, since the new Ordinal do's not confer the Power of Priesthood, those, who were ordain'd by it, will still be neither Priests nor Bishops. In fine, when he says the *English* Ordinations can be looked upon, as including All that was ever reputed essential, and That they exclude not any Powers which have ever been annexed to the Priesthood by Jesus Christ; He has been already confuted, by shewing That they do not express and specify the Order given, and have omitted all Expressions, That import a Power of Sacrifice, and have done all that Men could do to abolish the Name and the Thing of the True, Real, Substantial, Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Sacred Body and Blood of Christ, which was ever look'd upon, as the principal Sacerdotal Function in the Catholick Church.

C H A P. X.

*Remarks upon Le Courayer's 13th Chapter,
concerning the Practice of Re-ordaining
the English.*

204. **T**HE universal Practice of all the Catholick Churches, with That of *Rome* at their Head, in constantly re-ordaining all such of the *English* Clergy, who, being converted, were ever admitted to Orders in the Catholick Communion, must needs be, to every thinking Person, a very strong Persuasion, That some essential Defect was certainly in their former pretended Orders. This Persuasion grows stronger, the more one considers the Horror we have of Groundless, and consequently Sacrilegious Re-ordinations, and the universal Agreement in re-ordaining the *English*, not only Conditionately, but Absolutely, (a Thing never done with universal Approbation, but where the Defect is look'd upon to be beyond all Reasonable Doubt,) and, when we consider, That this Practice is derived from the very Beginning, and from those, who being nearest to the Times of the new Ordainers and the new Ordinal, had consequently the greatest Opportunities of knowing the Facts, the Characters, the Sentiments of them, and the proper, known, avowed Sense, in which the Ordinal was made and used. We, who are farther off from the Times, might very justly conform to their Judgment, and might well expect to have found the *Librarian* treat
this

this Practice with greater Respect. I know not what a single Man can imagine of himself, when he finds he stands alone, and yet dares to stand with a contemptuous Air, (sorry I am, That he forces us to use such Expressions,) against the whole Catholick World around.

§. I.

*The Judgment of the Invalidity of the Ordinal,
in Q. Mary's Reign.*

205. But, says *Le Courayer*, pag. 247. *Et Seq.* in the Time of Q. Mary they did not at first think of re-ordaining those, who were made by K. Edward's Ordinal: They were not uniform in their Proceedings, and did not act much by Principle. We shall soon see how wrongly this is advanced. In the mean while, let us suppose they did not just at the first determine absolutely upon the Invalidity of the New Orders, yet they afterwards were uniform in the Decision. The first Demur would therefore only prove, That struck with the Horror, which Catholicks have of Re-ordaining, they proceeded with mature Deliberation, acted not in the Matter till they found it sufficiently cleared, and consequently from their Uniformity afterwards, and all ever after conforming to their Judgment in it, we ought to conclude the Invalidity was found to be too well grounded, to leave any Room for Variety of Opinions. As we ought in all Justice to think they examined the Matter seriously, (the Importance fully de-
served

served it,) so they had, as I observed, particular Reasons to be proper Judges. We may explain this by a Comparison. In a Dispute whether a Seal be Genuine or not, those are like to be best Judges of it, who are own'd to have the Original Stamp, to be well acquainted with the Handy-Work and Peculiarities of those, who produce a new Seal. Catholicks are own'd to have the original Validity of Orders, to have been well acquainted with the Designs and Works of the New Forgers or Devisers of the New Ordinal. They compared it with the Old Stamp. Upon the Comparison they all pronounced it very unlike the Old Stamp, not only in the Want of some ornamental Strokes about it, but in essential Differences. Their Sentence has been constantly approved, and, the more approved, the more it has been consider'd. Scarce ever any one, but one only Man, (*Le Courayer*,) and he found, in many Respects, a most unaccurate Judge of such Matters, ever pretending the Contrary.

206. Let us hear however, what he has to say to support his Charge, of their not acting by Principle. *Latimer*, *Ridley* and *Farrar*, tho' the first, says he, pag. 247. was consecrated in *Henry* the 8th's Time, and the two others under *Edward* the 6th, before any Change made in the Form of Ordination, yet were not degraded as Bishops, before their Execution. Hence he would infer with *Burnet*, whom he quotes with Approbation, That they did not act much by Principles, but went upon this Maxim, *That Orders conferr'd in Schism are not valid.* But
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it is manifestly false, That they went upon that Maxim. It cannot in any Justice be call'd a *Maxim*, since it never was receiv'd as such. And whether you will call it a Maxim, or an Opinion, or what you please, even *Burnet* is forc'd there to call it *Old*, and the *Librarian* in the next Chapter owns, That the contrary Opinion has prevail'd, ever since the *Twelfth* or *Thirteenth* Century. Where then is the Justice, of pretending it was taken as a Maxim in the Reign of Queen *Mary*? Especially since it is evident, That several Ordinations made in Time of the Schism of *Henry the Eighth*, were allow'd to be valid. For Example, those of *Warion*, *Day*, *Kitchin*, *Thirlby*, &c. It is an Injustice then done to Catholics, in laying that Maxim so falsely to their Charge.

207. His next Proof, that they did not at first think to ordain them, who had been ordain'd by the new Ordinal, is as direct a Proof of the contrary, as Words can possibly express. Queen *Mary*, in the Beginning of her Reign, sent Instructions to the Bishops, whereof the 15th Article is this: *Touching such Persons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new Sort and Fashion of Orders, considering they were not order'd in very Deed, the Bishop of the Diocese, finding otherwise Sufficiency and Ability in those Men, may supply that Thing which wanted in them before; and then, according to his Discretion, admit them to Minister.* Jaundiced Eyes make every thing look with a yellowish Cast: Otherwise, it is impossible, That Words which say, *they were not order'd in very Deed*, should seem

seem to mean, that they were validly ordain'd. But says *Le Courayer*, pag. 250. *the Word Supply is never us'd for conferring Orders, but barely relates to Ceremonies.* No, Sir, it cannot possibly relate to meer Ceremonies. For, what signifies it to supply Ceremonies, where Orders in *very Deed* are wanting. The Sense therefore plainly is, That if they were found otherwise proper, or to have had inferior Orders, the higher Orders, which *they had not in very Deed*, but was the thing they wanted, should be supplied. And Nothing can supply the *Want of Orders in very Deed*, but re-ordaining. The *Interrogatories* of Bishop *Bonner* are scarce less mistaken by the *Librarian*, upon this same Account. One of them is: *Whether any such as were order'd schismatically, and contrary to the old Order and Custom of the Catholick Church, or being unlawfully and schismatically married, after the late Innovation and Manner, being not yet reconcil'd — had celebrated Mass, &c.* By those Words, *order'd contrary to the Custom of the Catholick Church*, the *Librarian* says, it is certain those are included, who were ordain'd in King *Edward's* time. But a little Reflection would have convinc'd him, That the contrary is certain. For *Bonner*, speaking of King *Edward's* Ordinations, would not have call'd them *schismatical* only, but also *heretical*; and he knew the pretended Presbyters of King *Edward's* Stamp, did not say Mass; the Ordinations of many in *Henry* the 8th's Time, tho' valid, yet were contrary to the old Order and Custom of the Church in several Respects; and as these
were

were much more numerous than the Ordinations since the new ORDINAL, it can be no Wonder, that more frequent should be the Provisions made for those numerous Irregularities, than for those fewer Ordinations by the new Ordinal, which were sufficiently declar'd entirely invalid by the Queen's Instructions, and by her first Parliament, which began the 5th of *October* 1553, and ended on the 6th of *December* following, in which, as *Heylin* owns, *all Consecrations, which had been made according to the Ordinal of Edward the Sixth, were declar'd to be null and void.* Whence it follows too, that granting it true, That the Interrogatory of Bishop *Bonner*, speaks indiscriminately of reconciling those, who were married, and those who were ordain'd in King *Edward's* time, yet the Reconciliation must be understood according to the different Circumstances of the Persons, and consequently by re-ordaining those, whose Orders were not only *irregular*, but also *void* and *null*.

208. The *Librarian* grows still more wonderful in his pretended Proofs. The *Bull* of *Julius* the Third, to his Legate Cardinal *Pool*, is alledg'd, as giving the Cardinal Power to re-establish those who had been ordain'd by King *Edward's* Ordinal, without ordaining them again, when as the Words of it expressly distinguish between those, who had been ordain'd, and those, who were not ordain'd. It allows them to be dispens'd with, notwithstanding their Irregularities, and to be admitted to the Priestly Functions, *Provided* they had been duly ordain'd, or to be

be ordain'd, if they were not so already. *Dummodo ante eorum lapsum in hæresim hujusmodi ritè & legitimè promoti vel Ordinati fuissent — & non promoti, ad omnes etiam sacros & Presbyteratûs ordines — promoveri, &c.* And again: *If they had not received Consecration before, to receive it from Catholick Bishops. Munere consecrationis eis hætenus impenso uti, vel, SI ILLUD NONDUM EIS IMPENSUM EXTITERIT — suscipere possint.* And again: *ad quoscunq; etiam sacros & Presbyteratûs ordines promoveri —* These Words evidently suppose, That some were possess'd of Bishopricks and other Benefices, not only without a lawful, but without a true Ordination. When therefore the *Librarian* asks, *what could those Words mean, licet minus ritè susceptis ordinibus, if not that in conferring Priesthood, the ordinary Laws of the Church were not observ'd, Things essential excepted, which they always supposed;* the Answer is very easy. Those Words mean, That notwithstanding the Irregularities incurr'd by officiating in Orders unlawfully, tho' validly receiv'd, the Legate might dispense with them. But at the same time the Bull very plainly supposes, that some had not been truly ordain'd. If the Bull does not expressly distinguish between the Ordinal and the Pontifical, this at most can only infer, That even before the Pontifical was abrogated, some had contriv'd to avoid being ordain'd, and this will therefore add to the Grounds of doubting of *Barlow's*. Nor was there any Need to make express mention of the New Ordinal, because it was notoriously known

known to be judged invalid, before this Bull of Pope *Julius*. For this Bull bears Date, *March, 8, 1554*. And the Parliament had already, the Year before, declared all Ordinations by the new Ordinal to be *null and void*. Since therefore this was so notorious, it was more proper to speak in general of dispensing with such as had been truly ordain'd, and of ordaining others, who wanted Ordination. If there could possibly be any Doubt of the Meaning of the Pope's Words, sure the Cardinal, to whom they were directed, must be a better Judge of them, than *Le Courayer*. Now Mr. *Collier* observes, *pag. 377*. That, by the Cardinal's Dispensation directed to the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*, those, who had received Orders from any Schismatical, or even Heretical Bishop, were re-establish'd in their Functions, *provided the Form and Intention of the Church was not omitted in their Ordination*. This very Dispensation of the Cardinal is cited, and very strangely misunderstood by *Le Courayer*, *pag. 301*. if he did not see That by the Words, *Dimmodo in eorum collatione, Ecclesiastica forma et Intentio sit servata*, the Cardinal supposes Ordinations by the new Ordinal were not to be dispensed with, as being certainly invalid. For I cannot imagine, That the *Librarian* himself can possibly think the Cardinal would call the new Ordinal, by the Name of *Forma Ecclesiastica*.

209. *There is yet Something*, says the *Librarian*, *pag. 253. still stronger*. But see how unfortunate he is in his Proofs: For, *first*, what he here urges, is a meer Report. *Sc-*

condly, It is evidently a false Report. *Thirdly*, I must have Leave to say, it is hard to conceive, That the *Librarian* himself, did not know it to be false. He quotes *Cambden*, as affirming, That *all the Changes in the Offices and publick Liturgies*, were so far from being regarded by *Rome* as *Essential*, and consequently, That *Rome* was little determin'd to a Re-ordination, That the Abbot *Parpaglia*, sent by *Pius* the 4th to Q. *Elizabeth*, offer'd on the *Pope's* Part, if she would return to his Obedience, to approve her Liturgy, That is to say, Her Book of Common Prayer. Now *Cambden*, himself, only relates it as a Report. His very Expression here cited, is, *Fama obtinet*. And Mr. *Collier* expressly observes, That *Burnet* is very wrong, in relating it as a positive Narration of *Cambden*. The Falseness of the Report is complain'd of in several Places, by *F. Parsons*, and others of our Controvertists, who were nearest to those Times. And the very best one can say of the *Librarian* here, is, That certainly he did not consider what he said, since Nothing can be more injurious to the Memory of *Pius* the 4th, than to pretend he would consent to the Suppression of the Mass, and other such Points as necessarily follow from approving the Liturgy, and all the other Changes in *England*: And *Durel*, a Minister of the Church of *England*, complains, and cites *Fuller* for his Opinion, That the Report mention'd by *Cambden*, is a meer Fable, (*mera Fabula est*,) raised by the *Puritans* to make the People believe, the *Common-Prayer Book* was Popish. It is a Misfortune in the *Librarian*, to copy after such Authors

thors as *Burnet* ; but it is very strange to see him do it in such Points as these, and where he is contradicted, both by Catholics, and Protestants.

210. Sure upon Occasion of declaring the Invalidity of K. *Edward's* Ordinations, by the Consent of the Nation in Q. *Mary's* Time, it will not be expected, I should take any Notice of Mr. *Williams's* attributing it to a great deal of actual Madness, and Interest, which he is pleased to call, evidently the principal Ingredient of most of our Doctrines. Such Sallies carry their own Answer, and deserve not the Leisure of our idlest Moments. But it may, perhaps, be expected I should take some Notice of *Bramhall's* urging a Dispensation of Cardinal *Pool's*, in which he says, *Omnes — in suis Ordinibus et Beneficiis per nos ipsos, ceu a nobis ad id deputatos recipiemus, prout multe (Personæ) receptæ fuerunt, secumq; super his opportunè, in Domino dispensabimus.* Hence *Bramhall* would infer their Orders were essentially valid, because, if otherwise, no Authority on Earth could dispense with them. But this Argument has been fully answer'd by *Erastus Sen. cap. 5.* and by the Author of *Church Govern. part 5. cap. 12. §. 192.* from whom I need only observe, That it is certain the Cardinal only means, That he will dispense with them according to the particular Circumstances of the Persons, as several had already been received, *Prout multa jam receptæ fuerunt*, That is, according to the Manner of receiving them, which had already been fix'd; [That is, by supplying those Orders which they wanted,

or had not received in *very Deed*, but had been declared *Void* and *Null*, (which Declarations had been made, a Year before this Act of the Cardinal,) or by dispensing with the Irregularities of those, who had been validly, tho' not lawfully ordain'd before.

§. 2.

The Judgment of the Invalidity of the New Ordinal in Queen Elizabeth's Days, and ever since.

211. Even *Le Courayer*, however wrongly he has pretended, That Catholicks were not fix'd in their Judgment of the Invalidity of the new Ordinal in the Beginning of *Q. Mary's* Reign, has Nothing but the false Report mention'd by *Cambden*, to suggest any Thoughts of Doubt in the Point, during the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*. He is forced to grant, our Divines have been unanimously fix'd in it. All his Refuge is, to accuse them of Ignorance, of Prejudice, of Passion, of Interest in their Decision. From such, as *Mr. Williams*, we might have expected such an Answer, and should never have thought it needed a Reply: From a Catholick we should never have expected it; and since a farther Reply may be expected, besides what has been already said, let us do it with as little, as possible, of imitating him in his perpetual Repetitions of the same Things. And, in the first Place, it is observable, That, by the common Fate of those, who engage in a wrong Cause, he immediately destroys his own System. *The Leaders*,
says

says he, pag. 254. in this Debate, (of denying the *English* Ordinations under Q. *Elizabeth*,) rejected these Ordinations — because those, who had consecrated the new Bishops, were themselves no Bishops. This plainly supposes, That the first Opposers of *Parker's* Ordination maintain'd, That his Consecrators were no Bishops, and this necessarily infers, either, That they denied *Barlow's* being a Bishop, or denied that *Scory* was a Bishop; and either Way destroys his System.

212. As to his pretending, pag. 256, That *Harding*, *Stapleton*, and other Catholick Writers contemporary with *Parker*, denied the new Bishops to be validly ordain'd, because they had received their Ordination from Bishops engaged in Schism, he clearly imposes upon those learned Men. But they stand, in the Esteem of all Catholicks, far out of the Reach of the *Librarian's* Contempt. It do's not become him by any Means to charge them with so much Ignorance, and much less with what he himself calls an *Error*, and which he owns was long since banish'd the Schools, at least ever since the *Thirteenth* Age, That Orders conferr'd in Schism are invalid. Not long after forgetting himself, as he often do's, he contradicts his own Assertion. For, pag. 301. He says, the Catholick Church receives as valid all Ordinations perform'd in Schism and Heresy, when Nothing essential is omitted. *Cardinal Pool* himself acknowledg'd it, &c. Where then is the Equity of attributing the contrary Error to our learned'st Divines? The Place he refers to of *Harding*, has no Appearance of that Error. Some of *Dr. Harding's* Ar-

guments are only indeed against the *Legality*, but others clearly against the *Validity* of the new Bishops. He argues, from their *not being so consecrated*, That they may stand to offer Sacrifice at the Altar, That they had abandon'd all External Sacrifice and Priesthood, That their Ordainers were no Bishops, &c. But of the Error, not a Syllable.

213. I have quoted him largely above, That I might not repeat the Places here again. But I cannot forbear taking Notice of one Place again, in which the *Librarian* here, pag. 256. seems to have us'd a little Slight of Hand. He cites *Harding*, asking *Jewel*, And how, I pray, was your Archbishop himself consecrated? What three Bishops in the Realm were there to lay Hands upon him? Here the *Librarian* makes a Dash — and leaves out some Words: Were they very long, and therefore to be abridg'd? No: They are very short, but very unlucky Words for the *Librarian*, and therefore, (for I can see no other Reason,) to be omitted. The Words are these: *You have now utter'd a worse Case for your selves, than was by me before named.* When he calls this a *worse Case*, he plainly points out to Something more infamous, than what he had named before. And pointing out so fairly to the *Nag's-Head*, we may imagine why the *Librarian* did not like it, and dash'd it out. We shall be glad to find he had a better Reason. But truly, as to the Case of being ordain'd in Schism, or by Hereticks, or by a new Ordinal, all this had been already mention'd, and Nothing *worse* remain'd, but from *Cheapside*.
And

And *Harding* adding, That all the former Bishops were *ashamed* of their new Consecration, (in the *Latin* cited by the *Librarian*, it is *despiciebant*,) it must allude to some odd Circumstance, which made it no less *shameful* and *despicable*, than Invalid. In fine, it appears from all our Writers of that Time, That as they objected to the new Bishops, That they durst not name who ordain'd them, and how; and positively denied their Validity, not upon That pretended Error, of which there is not the least Appearance, nor chiefly upon a current Opinion of those Days, that the *Unction* and *Delivery* of the Instruments were necessary, of which we find they seldom make any Mention; so, they frequently did it upon Account of the new Ordinal giving no Power of Sacrifice, the new Sect disclaiming all such Sacrifice, and That they were ordain'd by such, as were not themselves true Bishops. Whence, if we will allow *Le Courayer* to be now a better Judge of some Opinions, concerning the Essentials of Ordination, than those Divines, (which, for all his quoting *Morinus*, there is very little Reason to allow,) yet he cannot, at this Distance, be thought a better Judge of the Sentiments of the *English*, concerning a *Sacrificing Priesthood*, nor of the *Sense of the Ordinal*, nor of the *Fact* of *Parker's* Consecration. Whence it follows, That even granting some of the Reasons upon which Divines then concluded the new Ordinations to be invalid, were not alone sufficient; yet it is intolerable to pronounce, they were all *frivolous*; especially

since they urged them so strongly, That they drew *Rome*, and all the World into their Opinion.

214. But, says the *Librarian*, pag. 258. *There having been at Rome no new Discussion, nor any juridical solemn Enquiry into this Difficulty, no Consequence ought to be drawn from the present Practice, to determine us in such a Manner, That we should make this Usage the Standard of our Decision.* What do's he here mean? We are often forced to ask the Question. Would he pretend That the *Episcopal* Part of *England*, so small a Part of the Christian World, can be justly opposed to the Sense of all *Catholicks* in this Point? Is *London*, to him, a surer Standard than *Rome*? Is the Practice of the Church for near two hundred Years, of no Moment to determine us? If it were true, That there had been no new Discussion, he ought to infer, That no Reasons, no Answers, no new Proofs had ever since been produc'd, which might seem sufficient to call the first Decision in Question. Had the first Decision seem'd weaken'd by any Thing the *English* have been able to produce, if *Morinus's* Works had given any Reason to doubt of those Re-ordinations, he must suppose the Church would not have failed in so strict a Duty as enquiring a new, forbearing her Practice till a fuller Discussion, and not continued her sacrilegious Re-iterations, whereof she could not be guiltless, if she neglected to examine the Question, upon new Grounds of Doubting. Guiltless, at least, the Church will be from any Thing in the *Librarian's* Book, in which she will find

find Nothing but what she had already seen from *Mason, Bramhall and Williams*.

215. *There is Reason*, continues He, to believe, That the Conduct of that Church would not have varied upon that Article, but because the English Catholics would have the Fable of the Nag's-Head believed. As to his pretending a Variation upon that Article, we have seen his Mistake, and observed, That if, at first, there had been any uncertain Opinions upon it, they were soon fix'd, and have remain'd so fix'd, That re-ordaining the *English* ought not to be call'd the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, as it is a particular Church, but of all Catholics. For it has constantly been practis'd in *England, Flanders, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, &c.* as well as at *Rome*. The other Part of those few Words, are a plain Confutation of his whole Scheme. For, *First*, if the Cause of re-ordaining them, was the Catholics insisting upon the *Nag's-Head* Passage, it follows, That they must have produced very plausible Authorities for it, since, sure the *Librarian* will have too much Respect for the Church to say, She varied her Practice in so high a Matter, upon a Story advanced without any good Authority. *Secondly*, It follows, That if the *Nag's-Head* Consecration was the Cause of her Varying, and Re-ordaining, then the *Nag's-Head* History must have been produced, before the Re-ordinations in *Q. Elizabeth's* Days. For, the Cause must be before the Effect. And it is very certain That, in *Q. Elizabeth's* Time, the *English* were constantly re-ordain'd: Consequently this is inconsistent with the *Librarian's*

rian's pretending the *Nag's-Head* Story had not it's Birth in her Reign. *Thirdly*, The more *confidently* and *peremptorily*, as the *Librarian* here expresses it, the Catholicks in her Days denied the new Bishops were consecrated by *true Bishops*, the more Reason we have to believe they did it upon good Grounds. Good Men, and good Divines, would not be *peremptory* without good Reasons: Much less would either conscionable or sensible Men forge a Story so abominable against a known Truth, as That of the Tavern, and which, if it had been advanced without good Grounds, must rather have made them odious and ridiculous, even at *Rome*, than have confirmed the Practice of re-ordaining the *English*.

216. When *Le Courayer* adds ; These Reasons could *not be destroy'd, but by Facts which they were ignorant of at Rome, and which the English did not much concern themselves to publish* ; He is again no less inconsistent with Reason, than with himself. For, if the Facts of the *Nag's-Head* Story were so evidently false, and the *Lambeth* Account so very notorious, as he pretends, *Rome* could not possibly be ignorant of them. He makes, at the same Time, a very sad Compliment to his *English* Friends, whether Catholicks or Protestants, by saying, they were not much concern'd to publish *Facts* of so great a Consequence: He adds, indeed, one true Thing, *viz.* That *having waved the publishing those Facts, it was impossible, That these Ordinations should not be thought invalid.* But he should have added, That it is therefore morally impossible they should not be thought invalid to the World's End.

End. For it is morally impossible, those pretended *Lambeth* Facts should ever be thought true, which we have seen are so full of Flaws, which were never urged by Friend or Enemy when they were so necessary, and which daily appear more faulty, the more they are examin'd. And when he asks, *after a fresh Discovery of the Facts*, can one maintain the Decision of those Re-ordinations? He is not aware of what he advances. For, to talk of a *Fresh* Discovery of such notorious Facts, is only adding to the Improbability. It is, in Reality, supposing them so notorious, That they could not possibly be unknown; and, at the same Time so very unknown, That the World was astonish'd at so fresh a Discovery of what it knew already.

217. After having thus effectually confuted himself, he gives another signal Instance of his Rashness, (he must pardon us that Word in so clear a Case,) where *pag. 259.* he compares the Practice of re-ordaining the *English*, with what happen'd in the Cases of *Constantine* and *Formosus*, in which, says he, *Rome err'd.* But *first*, he very wrongly confounds the Cases of *Constantine* and *Formosus*, in which there is a great Difference: and *secondly*, supposing them alike, there is still a vast Difference in them both, from the Case of re-ordaining the *English*. Now, as to the Case of *Constantine*, I deny it to be clear, That there was any Error in re-ordaining those whom he had ordain'd. The Acts of the Council under *Stephen* the 4th are not extant: So that we have an imperfect Account of the Matter: and since *Baptisms* and *Confirmations*, conferr'd by *Constantine*, seem

seem to have been allowed for Valid, we ought to suppose there was some particular Defect in his Ordinations, or, That the Council did not speak of Re-ordaining, but only of Re-instating those who had received Orders from *Constantine*. The Case of *Formosus*, that is, the violent Proceedings of *Stephen* and *Sergius*, cannot, with any Modesty, be compared with the Practice of *Rome*, and the World, in re-ordaining the *English*. The Violences of those two Popes against *Formosus*, and the particular Affection, which the Church has for *England*, are a vast Difference; and another is, That the Proceedings of those two Popes were disapproved by all, but a few of such, as they had rather forced, than persuaded, to come into their Measures; And *all was made up again*, as *Le Courayer* expresses it, under their Successors in a short Time; whereas the re-ordaining of the *English*, has been continued for near two Ages under the best of Popes; not, *reclamantibus omnibus*, as in the Case of *Formosus*, but, with the Uniform Consent and Practice of all Catholics. Granting then, That *Sergius*, for Example, err'd, (tho' it should rather be call'd his Crime, than his Error,) it is intolerable in *Le Courayer* to pretend, p. 260. That re-ordaining the *English* is *no better founded*. He even contradicts himself in the next, pag. 261. where he allows there is more Difficulty, in the Case of the *English*. And if he would needs mention the odious Facts against *Formosus*, he might have been pleased to have observed, That Providence seem'd to justify the Cause of *Formosus* by Miracles; and That there have been

been no Miracles yet, to justify *Parker* and the other new Bishops, and make the Church alter her Judgment of their Ordinations. In fine, no one pretends to justify the Personal Proceedings of every particular Pope. But then the constant and uniform Practice of re-ordaining the *English*, is so strong an Argument, That I am unwillingly forced to say the *Librarian's* manner of treating it, deserves a severe Censure.

§. 3.

Particular Instances of the Re-ordaining such, as had been ordain'd by the English Ordinal.

218. *Le Courayer* has not been able to produce, so much as one single Instance of any one ordain'd by the *English* Ordinal, who was ever allow'd by any Catholick Bishops, to officiate in his pretended Orders. Some Instances of this Kind, would have been more to his Purpose, than all his wild Complaints, That all Churches are led away with Prejudices and Opinions, altogether frivolous, or with worse Motives. We, on the contrary, could easily give in, a numerous List of Facts, by which it appears, That as those Re-ordinations have been constantly practis'd from the Beginning, so they have been done with mature Deliberation. Even *Fox* complain'd, from the earliest Times of this Debate, That *Ministers revolting to Popery, must with their new Religion have new Orders*. We have quoted *Bristow*, affirming, that such, when converted, neither were admitted,

mitted, nor did they *expect* (so well they were acquainted with the certain Judgment and Practice of the Church) to be admitted for more than meer *Lay-men*, without new Orders. Mr. *Harding* himself, who had been made Deacon by the new Ordinal, soon recover'd from his Misfortune, and was as soon convinced of the Invalidity of those Orders. *Bramball* cavils wretchedly at *Harding's* saying, That he did not think himself a *lawful Deacon in all Respects*. Here *Bramball* would infer: *If his Protestant Ordination was a Nullity, then he was a lawful Deacon in no Respect*. Very weak! For still he might be a lawful Deacon, in respect at least of the Laws of *England*; and if he had proceeded to the next Leaf (*Fol. 231 b.*) he would have found Dr. *Hurd*, telling *Jewel*, that he had return'd to the Church, and taken a better Ground of Priesthood than his Sect has, among whom, all external Priesthood is utterly denied.

219. Among many other single Instances that might be alledged, I will content myself with *Four*, which as they relate to different Periods of Time, so they deserve a particular Notice, upon other Accounts. The *First*, shall be of one, for whom every Body must have a particular Esteem, and Catholics, a singular Veneration. I mean *F. Campian*: his Courage and Learning were admired even by his Adversaries. He had unfortunately been prevail'd with, to be made Deacon by the new Ordinal. By Divine Grace, he soon recover'd the Fall. And what were his Sentiments of those Orders?

Paulus

Paulus Bombinus in the elegant Book of *F. Campian's* Life, relates, That he ever spoke of them with Horror and Detestation. *Campian* himself, in that admirable Letter he writ to *Cheney*, the *English* new Bishop of *Gloucester*, tells him in plain Terms, *pugnante conscientia, falsum nomen usurpas Episcopi*. Could he, who knew *Cheney* so intimately, to whom he was so much oblig'd, whom he lov'd, and by whom he was so much belov'd, tell him so plainly, That he usurp'd the false Name of Bishop against his Conscience, if he had not been well convinc'd, and known that *Cheney* too was convinc'd, That those Orders were invalid? He might have charg'd him with taking schismatical Orders, but not with false Orders, if they had thought them valid. He tells him, That if he dies in his Heresies, he will in the Rage and Despair of Hell, tear himself with those Hands with which he had given false Orders, to so many miserable young Men. *Tum illa manus que spuris Ordinibus tot misellos Juvenes initiarunt, sulfureum corpus præ dolore pungent & terebrabunt*. Could *Cheney's* Conscience tell him, he was no Bishop, or *Campian* so positively affirm the Invalidity of those Orders without good Grounds? His own Example, (being re-ordain'd at *Prague*) and his Testimony so strongly express'd, are the more considerable, because he was particularly acquainted with the chief Persons and Facts of the Nation, and his Learning made him a singular good Judge. He writ that Letter when he first left *England*, in the greatest Hopes of Ecclesiastical Preterments, and the most

most eminent, to which his Wit, and the promised Favour of the Earl of *Leicester* and the Queen (who both admir'd him) had already open'd him the ready Way. He writ it, when nothing but Conscience (which appears lively in the Spirit of that Letter) could move him to leave his Country and his Hopes, and write so ardently to an eminent *English* Prelate, and so great a Friend. His *Decem rationes* astonish'd the World with his Elegance and Learning, and his Death much more, when he refused, not only the Promise of Life, but of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, if he would change his Religion; and, I suppose the *Librarian* will blush to think, of accusing him of *Ignorance*, or *Interest*, in judging of the new Orders.

220. The next Instance, shall be of one re-ordain'd under the very Eye of the learned *Morinus*, who (as *F. Le Quien* says, Tom. 2. ch. 2. pag. 317. he was assured by very creditable Persons of the *Oratorians*) examin'd particularly the Question of the *English* Orders, and left some Writings on that Subject. The Occasion was, of re-ordaining *F. Gough*, who having been Chaplain to *Laud*, was afterwards converted, and became an *Oratorian*, and was re-ordained at *Paris*. Mr. *Williams* says, chap. 5. pag. 56. That the *Sorbonne*, upon fully discussing the Question, gave in their Opinion, That the *English* Orders were good, but that the Pope determin'd otherwise, and order'd the Archbishop of *Paris* to re-ordain Mr. *Gough*. I have not had an Opportunity to enquire into this pretended Opinion of the *Sorbonists*. But what-
ever

ever some of them may have thought, their Opinion, it seems, was not minded at *Paris* it self. And the exotick Notions of some Doctors, especially when directly rejected upon a contradictory Judgment of the Cause, would only prove the common Persuasion of the Church, is not continu'd upon random Prejudices, but upon mature Consideration. For, as to the Dean of *Norwich*, very gravely telling his Reader, That the Pope and Archbishop of *Paris* acted against the *Sorbonne*, not according to the Merits of the Cause, but upon *Party-Interest*, we must be allow'd to think, it needs no Answer. Nor indeed, can I well imagine, if the Fact were true, of the *Sorbonne* dissenting from all the Catholick World besides, that neither *Le Quien* should take any Notice of it, nor even *Le Courayer*, in such an extreme Indigence, as he is in, of any Authors, to cloak his Singularity.

221. The third Example I take the more willingly from Mr. *Massy*, because I had formerly the Advantage of being acquainted with him at *Paris*. I find *Le Quien* knew him too, and he assures us, That his former Orders of Deacon, which he had receiv'd by the *English* Ordinal, were long and fully examin'd before M. *De Harlay*, the learned Archbishop of *Paris*, and being concluded to be invalid, Mr. *Massy* was re-ordain'd by the Bishop of *Arras*, upon his Return to *Doway*. Nor do we find any Opposition from *Sorbonists*, or from the University of *Doway*. So that this single Instance, is a Proof of the uniform Consent in this Matter, of both *France* and *Flanders*. And, must all these be still *Ignoramus's* in the *Librarian's* Opinion, or

worse? Upon this Occasion of *Massy*, *Le Quien* takes Notice, That he has been assur'd by Persons very particularly acquainted with *M. De Harlay*, who was known to be one of the learnedest Men of the Age, that he was so convinc'd of the Nullity of the *English* Orders, that upon this Account, he particularly disapprov'd the using the Name of *the Church of England*, in speaking of the Sect of the pretended Episcopal Party in *England*, alledging the celebrated Reason and Saying of *St. Hierom*, *Ecclesia non est quæ non habet Sacerdotes: No Priest, no Church*. He adds, That the learned *Abbè le Grand* assur'd him, That when he consulted *M. Bossuet* the Bishop of *Meaux*, whether in answering *Dr. Burnet*, he should stile him *Bishop*, *M. Bossuet* told him, by no Means to do it, *because*, said he, *we do not own any such Episcopacy*. And this, as well as his *History of Variations*, sufficiently shews, That *Le Courayer* mistakes the meaning of *Mr. Bossuet's* Letter in 1685, or that this learned Bishop was of another Opinion, after he had more fully examin'd the Question of the *English* Orders.

222. The last Instance I shall mention, is so Modern, and so well known, That I need not be long in it. 'Tis of *Mr. Gordon*, late Protestant Bishop of *Glasgow*. Being convinc'd of the Catholick Religion, by several Conferences with *Mr. Bossuet*, he went to *Rome*, and there solemnly abjur'd his Heresies. The Case of the *English* Ordinations upon a Memorial, which he presented (it is at large in the Append. to the 2d Tom. of *F. Le Quien*) was long and fully discuss'd at *Rome*, before his Holiness *Clement the Eleventh*, and on the 17th of *April* 1704. it was unanimously decreed,

creed, That his former Orders were invalid. *Le Quien* adds, he had the Particulars of this Affair from the Learned *Fontanini*, and joins a Piece of a Writing drawn up by Mr. *Gordon*, wherein he complains in very strong Terms of the Boldness of *Le Courayer*, in defending the *English* Orders. Nor certainly, was ever any Verse better applied, than M. *Gordon* applies to *Le Courayer*, that of the Poet.

Parce, puer, stimulis, & fortius utere loris.

C H A P. XI.

Remarks upon F. Le Courayer's four last Chapters.

223. **T**HE four last Chapters of the *Librarian*, as they only run upon such Principles as no Catholick denies in this Debate, or are entirely foreign to it, or meer superfluous Repetitions, they will soon be dispatch'd in a few Remarks, in one single and short Chapter. In his Fourteenth Chapter, he lays down these Principles: That Ordination imprints a Character; (I am glad he thus seems in Part to abate his odd Expression before, upon that Subject) That such Sacraments are not to be re-iterated without solid Grounds; That Heresies do not necessarily make Ordination invalid; &c. Against whom does he here talk? He grants these were acknowledg'd Principles in the Church, at least since the *Thirteenth* Age. I remember to have read, that One observing an Author in attacking *Lipsius's* Latin Style, had made great Digressions of Christian Princes joining against the *Turk*, pleasantly alter'd

the Title of the Book, thus: *De Latinitate Lipsianâ adversus Turcam*. Thus, one may have good Reason to alter the Title of a great Part of *Le Courayer's*, and call it, A Defence of the *English* Orders, against some odd Divines before the *Twelfth* Century. As to a Principle, which he pretends to draw from St. *Leo*, he very clearly mistakes the Meaning, and Application of it. St. *Leo* only means that Sacraments must not be reiterated till the contrary Proofs have been examin'd. Now, this was a Principle universally agreed upon, at the Time of the *English* Ordinations: Consequently, it must be supposed in all Equity, That they examin'd the Question, and still found the Doubts, at least, were solid. When therefore he says, pag. 269. *it is true, That in some particular Churches It is thought, by Reason of ill-grounded Prejudices, a Duty to re-ordain those, who have been ordain'd in England since the Schism*, He should have said, all Catholick Churches have thought it a Duty; and therefore it is an unpardonable Boldness to say, it is done upon *ill-grounded Prejudices*; especially since both the Importance of the thing, and the Facts we have produced, shew how great a Calumny it is, to say it is *done without discussing the Question*. There remains one true Thing in this Chapter, which deserves to be remark'd. The requisite exterior Intention, at least, *shews itself*, says he, pag. 272. *by the Practice and Observation of a Religious Rite prescrib'd by the Church, and one cannot otherwise judge of it. When, in certain Circumstances this Rite is omitted, one may pronounce with all the Assurance imaginable, That the Intention is wanting; and the Judgment is neither false, nor yet rash*. Now, if ever any Circum-

Circumstances can manifest a Want of due Intention, nay, an opposite Intention to That of the Church, it is most certainly in the Change of the Pontifical into the new Ordinal. It is therefore neither false nor rash, to judge the *English* Orders invalid upon this Account also, where every Thing shews, they have a new Intention, opposite to the certain Intention of the Church. As to what he adds again, pag. 281, That the first Ordinations were made upon no better Grounds, than the Catholick Bishops being *souer'd* in their Tempers, and *interested to pull down* the new Bishops, and *animated, perhaps, with a Zeal not well inform'd in the Defence of Truth*: I will only say to him again, with St. *Austin*, *Si Evigilas, intueri*, &c. and leave him to explain himself a little better upon what he suggests, concerning the Infallibility of the Church in *Dogmatical Facts*.

224. The next Chapter he still calls, a Continuation of the same Subject: But it is, in Reality, only a Continuation of Things quite out of the Purpose. I will not be carried away by his Digressions, otherwise it were very easy to shew, That he has advanced a great many unaccurate and unguarded Propositions. Even his very Title is Untheological, if not Uncatholick. It stands thus: *How much the Church has varied with Respect to Re-ordinations*. Now the Principles, upon which he discourses in this 15th Chapter, (as for Example, That administering Sacraments out of the Church do's not make them null,) are not Points of Discipline, but of Doctrine; so that, to say, the Church has varied in those Doctrines, is, at the Bottom, saying, She has

err'd one Time or other in her Doctrine. But as I am willing to suppose the best, I will take this Title, as it thus stands alter'd from what it was in the *French*, to be either a Mistake of the *Translator's*, or one of the Author's many Unaccuracies; and desire them both to remember there is a great deal of Difference between saying, the Church has *varied* in her Doctrine, and, that She had not always expressly defined her Doctrine upon some particular Points. As to the rest, what is it to the Purpose to pretend some Principles concerning Ordination were not, formerly, universally agreed on, while it is certain and agreed on, That they were unanimously received long before the Debate of the *English* Orders? And what is it to the Purpose to give us a long Detail of some of Mr. *Thorndike's* Singularities concerning Ordination, which, after all, he neither dares to adopt; and owns they are very insignificant to support the Validity of the *English* Orders? Or why, rather, was he not candid enough to let his Reader know, That Mr. *Thorndike* expressly says, He *always thought* the Objection he puts, *pag. 202. to have Weight and Difficulty?* Mr. *Thorndike* advances several other Propositions of Ordination, so entirely inconsistent with himself, with Catholick Principles, and even with *Le Courayer's* in that Matter, That he was certainly a very improper Author to be produced in this Controversy of Ordination.

225. His *sixteenth* Chapter bears this Title: *The Succession of the English Bishops has not been interrupted by the Schism.* If he means a *valid* Succession, no Body pretends that Schism interrupts it: And there could be no Need
of

of making a distinct Chapter to prove, That if they have preserved the Essentials of Ordination, they have a *valid* Succession. This could only be to swell his Book with unnecessary Repetitions. However, there are some Things which call for a few Remarks. Thus, when he says, pag. 297. *This Consequence* (of their being true Bishops, if they have preserved the Essentials,) *is so certain, That it is not disputed by any of those, who acknowledge for Valid, the Ordinations perform'd by Edward the Sixth's Ordinal*: I wonder who he means! For he has not been able to name one Catholick, that acknowledges the Validity of that Ordinal. He quotes, indeed, a Pamphlet, *De verâ et non interruptâ, &c.* said to be writ by a Catholick, but one who has thought fit to be Nameless. Less can one tell what he means, by saying the Catholick Divines, in Q. Elizabeth's Time, *do not explain, upon what they founded the Nullity of the New Bishops, but by Invectives, and angry Prejudices.* We have seen they founded it upon denying they were consecrated by true Bishops, and that the Ordinal it self was invalid. These were not Invectives, but Arguments, to which the new Prelates could not, durst not reply, when urged to name the Persons, and Manner, and Registers of their Orders. And when he adds, That the *Nag's-Head* Story *had not yet its Birth* in Q. Elizabeth's Days, he contradicts both the known Truth, and Himself. The known Truth, because it was related in *Wisbich* Castle in her Time; and consequently had already a Birth. He contradicts Himself, because we have heard him say, that Story was the *Cause* of

re-ordaining the *English* in her Days ; and we need not repeat, That the Cause must be before the Effect. He gives a further Instance of his hurrying boldly on, in Opposition to the most certain Facts, Facts even own'd in other Places by himself, where pag. 302. he says, That in the Deposition of the Bishops by Q. Mary, *There is no mention at all in their Sentences, of Deficiency in the new Ordinal, or their Consecration; but of a defective Title as to their Bulls, and upon Account of particular Crimes, with which they were charged.* He himself had own'd, That in Taylor's Sentence, *Propter nullitatem consecrationis ejus* was express'd." He could not but know, That the Ordinal, or in other Words, the *new Sort and new Fashion* of Orders, was condemn'd in Parliament, by the Queen's Injunctions, by Bonner's Book, by the universal Approbation of *England, Rome, and the Christian World.* He knew, and had own'd, That now for several Centuries, at least, neither want of Bulls, nor personal Crimes, nor the most notorious Heresies, could make Orders invalid in the Opinion of Divines, or Judgment of the Church. And why do's he say, *Crimes with which they are charged?* Do's he think they were only charged, and not guilty?

226. In the next pag. 303. he quarrels again with himself, and is no less at Variance with Reason and Logick, than with Facts. " There is, says he, an important Observation to be made. It is, That among those, " who dispute the Validity of these Ordinations, there is a great Opposition. ——— " Some agree, That the new Ordinal contains

“ tains all that is essential. — Others dispute
 “ the Validity of the Ordinal. — Others
 “ maintain, That the Consecrator was never
 “ consecrated. — Others, That *Parker* had
 “ no other Consecration, than a ludicrous one
 “ in a Tavern. — This is the Opinion of
 “ *Champney*, who first brought it in Vogue —
 “ All these Opinions refute one another by
 “ their Contrariety.” Now, in the first Place,
 I defy him to name any one, who denied the
 Validity of the *English* Orders in *Q. Elizabeth's*
 Days, that granted the Ordinal contain'd all
 that is Essential. He himself had said, *pag.*
257. That all Divines of those Times, thought
 those Things were omitted, which they judged
 Essential; and he says the like in several other
 Places. He is therefore, here, contrary to
 himself, and to certain Fact. *Secondly*, For all
 his frequent Contempt of the Schools, there is
 certainly such a Thing as Arguments being
disparate, without having properly any *Con-*
trariety: And it is very sad *Logick*, to call
 those Arguments contrary and opposite, which
 have no Contrariety nor Opposition at all.
 If a Man opposes another's Pretence to an
 Estate, and one of his Lawyers argues, That
 the Pretender has no Right to it by Deed of
 Gift; a Second, That he has none by the
 Will of the deceas'd Owner; and a Third,
 That he has none by Inheritance at Law;
 will any one say, these Three are opposite,
 and destroy one another by their Contrariety?
 Where then is the Contrariety between some
 Arguments from the *Ordinal*, some from the
Nag's-Head, and others from *Barlow's* want
 of Ordination? And *Thirdly*, He cannot but
 know that it is false, That *Champney* was the
first,

first, who brought the *Nag's-Head* Account into Vogue. Every one knows, That *Champney's* Book is an Answer to *Mason*; and That even *Mason*, in his first Edition, cites *Sacroboſco* and others, for the *Nag's-Head* Story. It consequently was already in Vogue, many Years before *Champney's* Book.

227. He himself again, in the End of this very Chapter, (to omit several other Places,) contradicts himself, as to that late Birth of the *Nag's-Head* Account. For he says there again: "They would never have
" carried themselves, even at *Rome*, as they
" have done with Regard to the *English*
" (Re-ordinations,) if they had not been
" prejudic'd by the Fable of the *Nag's-Head*;
" which has always been believed True there,
" as the famous *Fontanini* acknowledges in
" a Letter written sometime ago to one of
" my Friends." Since then, as we have observed before, those Re-ordinations were practised long before *Champney's* learned Book, that History must have been in Vogue before. As to the Letter of *Fontanini*, since *Le Courayer* has not thought fit to give us the Contents of it, we may very well presume, it contains Something not favourable to his Cause. Especially, since by the Account *F. Le Quien* had, by *Fontanini's* Means of Mr. *Gordon*, we see that learned Man is far from approving the Defence of the *English* Ordinations.

228. His last Chapter is only a *Recapitulation* of what he had said in his whole Treatise: And never, most certainly, was such a Recapitulation more needless to any Book in the World. Every Thing he here mentions,

tions, had already been repeated up and down in his Book, over and over again. It is an easy Matter to write large Volumes at such a Rate. It were then only imitating Him, to be long upon this Chapter. But I cannot omit observing, That it is strange how he could begin it with saying, he believes he has omitted none of our Difficulties, and given them their full Force. I am very sure, That whoever reads the foregoing Remarks, will find a great Number of Facts, Authorities and Arguments, which *Le Courayer* has entirely omitted, and That he has proposed others, but very lamely. It may not be amiss to add, That as it is not enough for us, when the *Register* is mention'd, to cry out a *Forgery!* a *Forgery!* So it is not enough for the *Librarian*, at the Name of the *Nag's-Head*, to cry out a *Fable!* a *Fable!* Let the Proofs be fairly consider'd: And let us add too; That it is not hard to imagine why the *Librarian*, pag. 305. as in several other Places, would persuade his Reader, That the present Debate is now chiefly reduced to the Point of *Barlow's* Consecration. Whereas, indeed, (tho' there are very strong Arguments against it,) it is one of the least of our Proofs. The *Librarian's* Reason for insisting so much upon it, seems to be this: There are a great Number of Pieces, partly true and partly false, relating to *Barlow's* wandering from one Religion and Bishoprick, to others. These with a *Rex omnibus salutem* at the Top, and sometimes a *Teste Rege* at the Bottom, are apt to stun and puzzle such Readers, as are not accusom'd to the Rules of examining such Acts. They might be therefore thought proper to
 embarrass

embarrass the Reader and the Cause: But when they come to be examin'd, they prove like Numbers of undisciplin'd Troops: They make a formidable Show at first, but in the Engagement they confound the Battle and lose the Day. The destroying them one by one, may be a longer, but the Victory in the Main, becomes an easier Work, while they fall foul upon one another, and help the Enemy. As to the *Librarian's* concluding with a fair Protestation of the Goodness of his Intention, in publishing his Book, (tho' by the Bye, he was refused the Licence of his Superiors,) I willingly leave it to the Searcher of Hearts, and hope the best. But one cannot help wishing he had been more Exact, more Theological, less Rash, and even more Catholick in several of his Expressions.

C H A P. XII.

The Conclusion of these Remarks, first, to the Catholick, and secondly, to the Protestant Reader.

229. **T**HE distinct Heads to which I have endeavour'd to reduce the chief Points of this Debate, will, I hope, dispense with me from a Recapitulation. I presume it too the more willingly, because the *Librarian's* Method has perfectly tired me with the Thoughts of any farther unnecessary Repetitions. I shall therefore, rather chuse to conclude, with a few short Reflections of a different Sort, first to the *Catholick*, and secondly to the *Protestant* Reader.

230. The Catholick Reader, will, I hope, from the precedent Remarks be, *First*, Confirm'd in the comfortable Reflection, upon the Certainty of Catholick Orders; a Certainty so great, that our Enemies cannot attain it: And at the same time, in a charitable Concern, for those Protestant Neighbours, who are involv'd in Doubts at least, on every Hand, upon a Matter of the highest Consequence. *Secondly*, That however unfortunate *Le Courayer's* Book may be to himself, it can be of little Prejudice to thinking Persons, while they observe how unaccurately, how wildly, he has wander'd into a great Number of Mistakes and unaccountable Assertions. *Thirdly*, How dangerous it is to indulge one's Self in Singularity of Opinions, while one, whose Education might have been a Guard to his Excesses, has by that unhappy Liberty, engag'd himself in such wrong Steps, and such Assertions as could never have been expected from a Catholick Divine. And, *Lastly*, How dangerous it is, to read Protestant Writers without Precaution, while we find an Author, from whom it might have been so little expected, engaged by them, for want of due Caution, into so many and so grievous Mistakes.

231. As to the Protestant Reader, it will be very obvious for him to reflect, that he has very little Reason to be fond of *Le Courayer's* Defence. He must needs observe, that this Author speaks a very different Language from all other Catholics, not only upon the Point of the *English* Orders, but in Point of the Sacrifice of the Mass and several other Articles. It will thence be natural for him to conclude, either that this Author is not sincere,

sincere, (which God forbid) in the Religion he professes, or is not a Divine, who can be depended upon, if he does not see, how contrary his Assertions are to the Catholick Doctrine. And either Way his Authority must be of very little Moment.

232. But what I would wish him farther to consider, is, that in his serious Reflections upon this Debate, he ought to say to himself; *First*, If I pretend to be a Church of *England* Man, I must take this for a certain Principle: *No Priesthood, no Church.* *Secondly*, This must consequently be no less certain: *A dubious Priesthood, a dubious Church.* *Thirdly*, It is no less manifest, that the greatest Part of Christendom, either absolutely deny, or doubt at least, of the Ordination of the *English* Clergy. In this, not only all Catholicks, but almost all other Sorts of Protestants (numberless Sorts, alas! there are) do all agree. Protestants generally deny and even despise any true *Episcopal* Ordination at all. Catholicks have ever question'd at least, the Validity of the *English* Orders. We our selves were astonish'd to find one single Man of them, after near two hundred Years, offer to defend them. *Fourthly*, What Security can I then have, that I am in a true Church, while the Church of *England*, as a distinct Church from others, is so very small a Part of Christendom, and while even a great Part of *England* too, and all Christendom besides, have so great Doubts at least of our Orders, without which there can be no true Church. Even this *French* Author has only added to the Doubts, and he owns (*pag. 303.*) That if there is an *Uncertainty* of our Orders, the Defence of them *must necessarily be abandon'd*

don'd, because in Things of this Nature, Certainty must be sought. Now, Fifthly, How can any prudent Man deny, but the Doubts and Uncertainty of our Orders (taking the Doubts at least collectively, or all together) are too great, not to leave a strange Uncertainty, whether they are true or not? For, even let me suppose there are probable Proofs, that the *Nag's-head* Account is a Fable, that *Barlow* perhaps was a true Bishop, that, *may be*, the *Register* is not forged, and that possibly our Matter and Form, and Intention are valid; yet I must be lost to all Shame, to pretend there are no probable Arguments on the contrary. It is absurd to pretend none of those Arguments are probable, which we see move the greatest Part of the wisest Men of the World. So that, upon the Upshot of this important Question, I must grant, that I have only probable Arguments, (if even those) for the Truth of our Clergy, with probable Grounds against it. Sixthly, But then as to the Orders of the *Catholicks*, I must grant them certain: Otherwise, whatever Doubts I pretend to cast upon them, will only recoil back upon my self. Seventhly, Ought I not then in all Prudence, to join with that Church, which I must grant has certainly a true Priesthood? Have I not all the Reason in the World to believe That Christ, as he would by his Providence secure to his Church a true Priesthood, so also (when the Question is between two Churches, which is the true one) that certainly which has the greatest Security of true Priesthood, has also the greatest Security of being the true Church of Christ? Eighthly, Can the Accusation of *Idolatry* reasonably keep me out of that Church? No. The very Accusation it self is enormously unchristian and incredible. It is unchristian,

christian, because they detest Idolatry with the utmost Horror, and acknowledge one only God in the strictest and fullest Sense and Words, as much as we possibly can, and by the same Creed. It is incredible on the other Hand, that none should have so certain a Claim to Priesthood, as Idolaters. And what can be a more enormous Contradiction, than to own it is a true Church, and at the same time an Idolatrous Church? Is not Idolatry a Fundamental Error, destructive of a true Church and of Salvation? *Ninthly*, Nay, am I not by the very Grounds of our Claim to valid Orders, oblig'd to detest laying that Accusation of Idolatry to the Church of *Rome*? For, is not their Sacrifice the great pretended Ground of that Accusation? Now, if I pretend their Sacrifice is Idolatry; I must evidently quit all Pretence to a true Clergy. For, I can have no true Orders, but which must be deriv'd from the Catholick Ordination. In that Ordination, it is evident, the whole Intention and Series of the Pontifical, imports the Sacrifice of *Mass*. If then the *Mass* is Idolatry, the Catholick Ordination can no more be valid, than one can be validly ordain'd a Christian Priest, by an Ordinal importing, that he is ordain'd to offer the Sacrifice of Bell, Moloch, and Astaroth. *Tenthly*, Infine; since then there is no true Church without true Priests, no true Priests but who have their Power originally from the Church of *Rome*; and since I cannot charge that Church with Idolatry, without strangely contradicting my self, and destroying the very Orders to which we pretend; with what Prudence can I continue in a Church, where I have so many Reasons to fear, at least, there is no true Priesthood, or delay joining with that Church from which we separated, and wherein we must own true Priesthood is certain?

With these Reflections I leave the Reader, sincerely wishing he may seriously search, happily find, and courageously embrace the Truth,

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F I N I S.

